

The Canadian Historical Review

NEW SERIES

OF

THE REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS
RELATING TO CANADA

(FOUNDED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO IN 1896)

VOLUME XXIII

1942

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

BY

THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS
TORONTO, CANADA

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME XXIII, 1942

No. 1. MARCH

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: A SYMPOSIUM

Mercantilism and the American Revolution

LAWRENCE A. HARPER 1

The American Revolution Reconsidered

WINFRED T. ROOT 16

Discussion of Professor Harper's and Professor Root's Papers

O. M. DICKERSON 29

LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON 34

The Elusive Mr. Ellice

DOROTHY E. T. LONG 42

Four Early Letters of Egerton Ryerson

C. B. SISSONS 58

Correspondence: History in Motion Pictures

CLIFFORD P. WILSON 65

Historical Novels of 1941

CHARLES CLAY 67

The Preparation of the List of Recent Publications and the Forthcoming Decennial Index

REVIEWS OF BOOKS 75

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

..... 95

Annual List of Publications on Ethnology, Anthropology, and Archaeology

T. F. McILWRAITH 111

NOTES AND COMMENTS: James H. Coyne; The retirement of M. Pierre-Georges Roy; The Canadian Historical Association annual meeting; Appointment of a national archivist in the United States; The social sciences and the war in Australia; Book-notes for teachers...

..... 120

No. 2. JUNE

HAVE THE AMERICAS A COMMON HISTORY?

A United States View

WILLIAM C. BINKLEY 125

A Canadian View

GEORGE W. BROWN 132

A Mexican View

EDMUNDO O'GORMAN 139

A South American View

GERMAN ARCINIEGAS 148

Ryerson and the Elections of 1844

C. B. SISSONS 157

Canada and Foreign Affairs

R. O. MACFARLANE 177

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

..... 194

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

..... 215

NOTES AND COMMENTS: Symposium on the American Revolution; The annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association; The Canadian Social Science Research Council; American Association for State and Local History; Canadian historical societies; Archives and libraries

..... 234

No. 3. SEPTEMBER

<i>The Canadian Press</i>	
ARTHUR R. FORD	241
<i>Nova Scotia and the Canadian Naval Tradition</i>	
D. C. HARVEY	247
<i>Britain's Defence of Newfoundland</i>	
GERALD S. GRAHAM	260
<i>The Dismissal of Lord Glenelg from the Office of Colonial Secretary</i>	
EDITH DOBIE	280
<i>The Political Ideas of George Etienne Cartier</i>	
JOHN IRWIN COOPER	286
<i>The Origin of the Name Hochelaga</i>	
PERCY J. ROBINSON	295
<i>Nova Scotia's Contribution to the Canadian Relief Fund in the War of 1812</i>	
Edited by J. S. MARTELL	297
<i>Graduate Theses in Canadian History, and Related Subjects</i>	303
<i>The American Revolution in New Books and New Light</i>	
WINFRED TREXLER ROOT	308
<i>Some Recent Books on the History of Britain and the Empire</i>	
D. J. McDOUGALL	315
<i>Canada and Commonwealth Affairs</i>	
REGINALD G. TROTTER	321
REVIEWS OF BOOKS	327
RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA	333
NOTES AND COMMENTS: Local History and the war; Book-notes for teachers; Canadian historical societies; Archives and libraries; Erratum	347

No. 4. DECEMBER

<i>Early Canadian Costume</i>	
ELIZABETH W. LOOSLEY	349
<i>John Strachan's Connexion with Early Proposals for Confederation</i>	
GEORGE W. SPRAGGE	363
<i>The Basis and Persistence of Opposition to Confederation in New Brunswick</i>	
ALFRED G. BAILEY	374
<i>That Rumour of Russian Intrigue in 1837</i>	
Edited by THOMAS H. LE DUC	398
<i>Recent Books on the North American Arctic</i>	
H. A. INNIS	401
<i>La Vérendrye's 1738-9 Journal</i>	
LAWRENCE J. BURPEE	407
REVIEWS OF BOOKS	412
RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA	424
NOTES AND COMMENTS: Arthur Percival Newton; Beckles Willson; Louise Phelps Kellog; Recent appointments, promotions, and resignations; Book-notes for teachers; Canadian historical societies; Archives and libraries	449

The Canadian Historical Review

VOL. XXIII

TORONTO, MARCH, 1942

No. 1

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

THIS symposium on the causes of the American Revolution was presented at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago on December 30 last. The papers are printed in the order in which they were given. The main papers are by Professor Lawrence A. Harper of the University of California, and Professor Winfred T. Root of the University of Iowa. The two shorter papers by Professor O. M. Dickerson of the Colorado State College of Education and Professor L. H. Gipson of Lehigh University were intended as comments on the longer papers and as an introduction to discussion.

It is planned to print in our next issue (June) some further comments, among which we expect to have one by Professor Louis M. Hacker of Columbia University, who has already consented to contribute. These varied contributions will make clear the conflict in interpretations and points of view which still exist in spite of the enormous amount of work given to the subject in the past fifty years.

The CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW has always considered the American Revolution as among its principal themes of interest, and it is appropriate that this symposium should appear in these pages, especially at a time when the relations of the various parts of the English-speaking world are passing through profound changes. A generation ago the re-interpretation of the Revolution by American historians did much to remove misconceptions which had been a potent cause of friction between Britain and the United States for over a century. Seldom have the results of objective scholarship had a more far-reaching practical influence. As the Revolution recedes still further into the past, its importance in perspective tends to increase rather than diminish. It takes its place not only as an event of significance to America, but as a chapter of deep significance in the history of the modern world, and the views of our generation with regard to it will, without doubt, have a direct bearing on the solutions which are found for the baffling problems now confronting us. [EDITOR'S NOTE]

MERCANTILISM AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

THE cynic who declared that history is the process whereby a complex truth becomes a simplified falsehood may have had in mind interpretations of the American Revolution. Even before the Revolution occurred, Vergennes prophesied that France's loss of Canada would eventually bring it about.¹ The

¹George Bancroft, *History of the United States of America from the Discovery of the Continent to the Establishment of the Constitution in 1789* (1885 ed., 6 vols.), II, 564.

The very document which made the severance final attributed the blame to George III, a fashion which has been generally followed, and some years ago was ardently expounded by a former mayor of this city, Big Bill Thompson. These points, however, are called to attention merely to remind us of what Professor Root will expound more fully—that there are many interpretations. Our immediate task is to concentrate upon one—the relation of English mercantilism to the American Revolution.

The term "mercantilism" is one of those words which have different meanings for different people. On the one hand, George Louis Beer claimed that English mercantilism was a well-balanced system designed for the benefit of the colonies as well as the mother country, and on the other, Sir William Ashley declared that the regulations of English mercantilism were either pious formulas nullified in the actual world of commerce by fraud and evasion, or merely a codification of commercial habits which would have been followed in any case. For reasons which have been explained more fully elsewhere² we shall reject Beer's claim that there was no exploitation and accept the statements of the mercantilists themselves that they planned to exploit the colonies for the benefit of the mother country. We shall deny the Ashley view that there was no actual regulation and conclude from more recent studies of the evidence that the English laws did regulate trade and commerce.

These two conclusions provide us with a working definition of English mercantilism in its colonial aspects. It had as its purpose, exploitation, and as its means, regulation. Both phases of the problem, exploitation *and* regulation, are important. To understand the relationship of mercantilism and the Revolution we must not only analyse the extent to which the colonists were exploited but also consider the skill with which they were regulated.

An analysis of how the colonists were exploited is no easy task, as any one knows who has struggled with the many statutory ambiguities involved. The calculations involved in estimating the burdens placed upon the colonial economy are complicated. They call for arithmetical computations involving duties, preferences, or drawbacks of such odd amounts as 1s. 10d. and 15 16/75 of a twentieth of a penny per pound of tobacco. They run afoul of complicated analyses of costs and close decisions about the incidence of taxation. The answer required some thousands of

²L. A. Harper, *The English Navigation Laws* (New York, 1939), chap. xix.

hours of WPA and NYA labour in tabulating the necessary data and hundreds more in analysing and correlating them, the details of which have been compressed in thirty-eight rather dull pages.³ All that can be attempted here is to state the conclusions and indicate the grounds upon which they are based. We can, however, simplify our analysis of the mercantilist code which exploited the colonies by dividing it into four parts: first, the basic provisions concerning the trans-Atlantic trade; second, the supplementary measures restricting manufactures; third, the subsidiary rules with reference to the American trade; and fourth, the much discussed measures enacted after the French and Indian War.

In examining the first part, we find that the basic provisions concerning the trans-Atlantic trade placed a heavy burden upon the colonies. By means of the Navigation Acts England attempted both to keep foreign vessels out of the colonies and to enable English merchants to share in the more profitable parts of the trans-Atlantic trade. The enumeration of key colonial exports in various Acts from 1660 to 1766 and the Staple Act of 1663 hit at colonial trade both coming and going. The Acts required the colonies to allow English middlemen to distribute such crops as tobacco and rice and stipulated that if the colonies would not buy English manufactures, at least they should purchase their European goods in England. The greatest element in the burden laid upon the colonies was not the taxes assessed. It consisted in the increased costs of shipment, trans-shipment, and middleman's profits arising out of the requirement that England be used as an *entrepôt*.

The burdens were somewhat lightened by legislation favouring the colonies, but not as much as usually alleged. The suppression of tobacco production in England, for example, was comparatively unimportant to the colonies since the great quantities of colonial tobacco re-exported caused its price to be determined by a world rather than an English market. Moreover, the motive was not goodwill for the colonists but fiscal, since the heavy revenues derived from tobacco could be collected more easily at the waterfront than upon the farm. Likewise, although colonial shipbuilders and shipowners approved the clauses of the Navigation Acts which eliminated Dutch rivals, they did not need such protection. They had managed to carry cargoes and

³L. A. Harper, "The Effect of the Navigation Acts on the Thirteen Colonies" (in *The Era of the American Revolution*, ed. by Richard B. Morris, New York, 1939).

to build ships which could be sold in the world market before the laws were enacted and they continued to do so after the Revolution. The fact is that colonial shipowners suffered, directly, and colonial shipbuilders, indirectly, under the Navigation Acts since other clauses enabled English shipowners (as contrasted with American) to carry eighty per cent of the trade between the British Isles and the Thirteen Colonies whereas they carried only twenty per cent after the Revolution.⁴

Similarly the drawbacks, bounties, and tariff preferences, of which we are so often reminded, did not materially offset the burdens placed upon the trans-Atlantic trade. The drawbacks paid by English customs authorities on foreign products re-exported to the colonies should not be listed as a benefit to the colonies. There would have been no duties to be drawn back except for the requirement that the colonists purchase their European goods in England. The portion of the duties which England retained, while less than it might have been, was obvi-

⁴*Ibid.*, 8-10, 37. Richard Champion, *Considerations on the Present Situation of Great Britain and the United States* (London, 1784) declares at pages 27-8 that the ships in the trade between Europe and the Thirteen Colonies totalling 195,000 tons "were generally the property of British merchants, navigated by British seamen" and that they formed "no less than a sixth of our whole shipping," which had previously (p. 13) been stated to be about 1,300,000 tons. Obviously the trans-Atlantic trade of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia included a substantial percentage of colonial-owned ships, but the *trans-Atlantic* trade of those ports was less than that of Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina, which was overwhelmingly in the hands of British vessels. Thus it seemed wisest to modify Champion's statement somewhat and the estimate of eighty per cent was taken as being a fairly reasonable approximation. Subsequent analyses of the Naval Office lists show that the percentages differed radically from port to port and even within the same port during different years:

OWNERSHIP OF TONNAGE IN TRADE WITH BRITISH ISLES

Ports and years examined		By British	By British and colonial jointly	By colonial	By others	Total
Ports	Exports for					
New York.....	1754	340	550	2,585	20	3,495
" ".....	1764	1,362	740	2,010	100	4,212
Port York.....	1768	2,376		350		2,726
Port Hampton...	1758	2,627		465	80	3,172
" ".....	1766	3,436		1,385	35	4,856
South Carolina...	1758	8,649		1,825	670	11,144
" ".....	1766	13,982	1,691	1,205	605	17,483

An attempt was made to calculate the average for all the colonies on the assumption that the average of the New York percentages would be typical of that of the colonies north of the Mason and Dixon line, while an average of the Virginia and Charleston figures would represent that of the Southern colonies. The averages thus derived were then weighted in accordance with the ratio of Northern (30) and Southern (70) tonnages engaged in the Anglo-American trade in 1769 (Public Record Office, London,

ously greater than nothing at all.⁵ Likewise, *bounties paid upon English manufactures* exported to the colonies, were of advantage to the English producer, who received them whether his goods were exported to the colonies or anywhere else, rather than of benefit to the colonial consumer who otherwise would, and often did, buy competitive European goods.⁶

On the other hand, however, the bounties paid upon colonial products were of real advantage to the colonies. They sustained the growth of indigo in South Carolina, did much to foster the development of naval stores in North Carolina, encouraged the lumber industry in New England, and at the end of the colonial period averaged more than £65,000 a year for the Thirteen Colonies alone. Similarly the preferences granted colonial products were beneficial in so far as they operated. Although they had no effect upon such commodities as tobacco and rice and their effect upon other commodities is somewhat uncertain, colonial

Customs 16, vol. 1), with the result that the percentage of British-owned ships was found to be 74.5 per cent and that of colonial-owned ships 16.9 per cent. The procedure, however, involved other complications. Vessels listed as colonial-owned in Virginia and Charleston were listed as colonial but they were probably owned in most cases by Scottish factors who might well be classed as British. Vessels carrying rice to southern Europe were considered to be engaged in trade with the British Isles because they virtually all engaged in a triangular voyage which started and ended there. Owners listed as residing in Madeira, Rotterdam, and elsewhere (3.4 per cent) probably should have been listed as British since only ships of British subjects were allowed to trade in the colonies. Finally, there is the question of how great was the British and how great was the colonial interest in the vessels owned jointly (5.2 per cent). Thus the best estimate now possible would seem to be that the British controlled about 80 per cent of the tonnage in the Anglo-American trade under mercantilism.

⁵It is, of course, true that, if one wishes to consider the fairness of the burdens laid upon the colonists, it is relevant to remember that the allowance of drawbacks enabled them to pay lower taxes upon the same goods than the English were assessed. An analysis of the economic burdens upon the colonies, however, is concerned primarily with ascertaining how much the colonists had to pay, not with determining how fair the assessment was. If one lists the drawbacks as a colonial advantage in such an analysis, the entire tax should be calculated as a colonial burden, in which case one will attain exactly the same result reached in the calculations which follow, since the drawback has already been deducted from the gross tax and the only burden considered has been the net tax retained in Britain.

⁶The grant of the bounty did not depend upon exportation to the colonies in the case of any of the bounty-paid products (cordage, corn, certain fish, beef, pork, gunpowder, linen, sailcloth, silk manufactures, and refined sugar), nor in the case of the candles, glass, hides, lace, thread and fringes, leather manufactures, paper calicoes, silks, salt, soap, and starch, the "exciseable goods" which received specified drawbacks or bounties upon exportation (Samuel Baldwin, *A Survey of the British Customs*, London, 1770, Part II, 19-22). In the case of linens the bounty was paid only for exportations to Africa, America, Spain, Portugal, Gibraltar, Minorca, and the East Indies, but those were the only regions in which British linen had an opportunity to compete successfully. It is also important to note that in the year 1773 the exports to the American colonies of bounty-paid linen totalled £348,464 (of which £168,314 went to the continental colonies), while less than £68,000 worth of bounty-paid linen was exported to the rest of the world. During the same year the continental colonies imported almost the same amount of duty-burdened linens, valued at £137,248, and similar exports to the British Carribean amounted to £102,754 (Customs 3, vol. 73).

raw silk, naval stores, and lumber definitely benefited. Yet the total sum represented by such preferences was never great and it is doubtful whether the benefit the Thirteen Colonies thus derived amounted to even one-twentieth of that obtained by the British West Indian planters who in the year 1773 alone, pocketed £446,000, thanks to a preferential rate which enabled their sugar to hold the English market despite a five-shilling-per-hundred-weight differential in price.⁷

The uncertainties underlying many of our calculations do not permit an exact statement, but judging from calculations for the year 1773, it would seem that after all proper allowances have been made for bounties and other preferences, the net burden imposed upon the Thirteen Colonies by the restraints upon the trans-Atlantic trade was between two million and seven million dollars a year. In these days of astronomical budgets such figures do not seem especially impressive, but the annual per capita burden represented by the lower estimate would come close to meeting all the expenses of operating the national government during Washington's administration, and an annual per capita tax based upon the higher estimate would, in addition to paying the current expenses of government, have raised in twelve years (from 1790-1801) a sum sufficient to pay both the domestic and foreign debt incurred by the United States government during the Revolutionary War.⁸

When we turn to the second part of our discussion, the supplementary measures restricting manufacture, we find a difference of opinion concerning the effect of English restrictions upon manufacturing wool, hats, and iron. The earlier tendency was to dismiss the regulations as immaterial, but recently some have swung the pendulum to the other extreme and argue that the

⁷Harper, "Effect of the Navigation Acts," *passim*. As Professor Gipson points out, the British West Indies had their own burdens, such as the 4½ per cent tax in Barbados, but their increasing inability to meet world competition as shown by the decrease in re-exports of sugar from England (Frank W. Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies*, New Haven, 1915, 156 ff.) indicates that retention of England's market was very important to them. Also one must remember that the British fleet, as well as economic interests, helped to prevent their joining the Thirteen Colonies in revolt, just as the Canadians were kept loyal to the mother country partly by their distrust of the Thirteen Colonies and partly by the profits to be derived in the fur trade from an uninterrupted supply of British manufactures.

⁸The estimate of the net burden given here has been modified slightly from that given in Harper, "The Effect of the Navigation Laws," in order to make greater allowances for the possibly beneficial effects of preferential rates on colonial products and for possible errors in estimating the ratio between the pound and the dollar.

restraints were very important.⁹ Neither extreme appears to accord with the facts. In the case of hats, proximity to the source of supply of furs and the comparatively simple process of manufacturing had led to the development of an industry which appears to have been injured by the legislation,¹⁰ but the hat industry played only a minor part in the total economy. Woollen manufactures were, of course, much more important, but there is much evidence to indicate that the English prohibitions had little material effect. The colonies found that they were handicapped by an inadequate supply of good wool when they tried to develop homespun goods at the time of the Revolution—and even as late as 1791 Hamilton found that an adequate supply of labour was one of the chief stumbling blocks to his programme for encouraging industry. It required an embargo, a war, and a protective tariff before large-scale woollen manufacturing began to develop, and it did not pass beyond the household stage until many years after being freed of English mercantilism—which, incidentally, had never forbidden the manufacture of homespun for domestic use or local distribution.¹¹

In the case of iron manufactures the British legislation encouraged the development of pig and bar iron and tried to discourage the manufacture of more advanced forms, but in both respects the influence of the legislation is doubtful. Because of the proximity of iron ore to forests America had a great advantage in producing crude iron, before coke replaced charcoal, and probably did not need legislative encouragement. With such an advantage in producing crude iron it was only natural that some more advanced iron articles would be produced in the colonies, whatever thorough-going mercantilists might dream about having the crude iron sent over to England and having it returned in the form of pots, pans, and other manufactures.¹²

The various disallowances of colonial laws which were intended to foster colonial manufacturing further illustrate the English intention of discouraging it but, despite that intent, English

⁹Cf. Victor S. Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States, 1607-1860* (2 vols., Washington, 1916-28) with Miriam Beard, *A History of the Business Man* (New York, 1938); L. M. Hacker, *The Triumph of American Capitalism* (New York, 1940) and "The First American Revolution" (*Columbia University Quarterly*, XXVII, Sept., 1935).

¹⁰Harper, "The Effect of the Navigation Acts," 6-7.

¹¹*Report on Manufactures*, Dec. 5, 1791, in *American State Papers, Finance*, I, 123-44; Arthur H. Cole, *The American Wool Manufacture* (2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1926), *passim*.

¹²A. C. Bining, *British Regulation of the Colonial Iron Industry* (Philadelphia, 1933); *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture in the Eighteenth Century* (Harrisburg, 1938).

mercantilism as a whole probably had a greater tendency to promote than to hinder colonial industry. The colonies' most dangerous industrial competitors were in many respects, not the English, but the Dutch, the Germans, and other Europeans—to say nothing of the natives of India—against whose competition the proviso of the Staple Act of 1663 provided a very useful tariff barrier. Moreover, the large sums which mercantilism withheld from the colonies reduced their available cash, and probably forced many colonists to use homespun or other American products instead of buying British.¹³

The third point of our inquiry into colonial exploitation by England should not detain us long. Until the Molasses Act of 1733 the inter-American trade had been left virtually alone except for the requirement that the English colonies trade in English or colonial ships. Even after 1733, the prohibitive duties on foreign sugar, molasses, and rum were usually evaded. Such evasion required bribery, fraud, or concealment which probably served as a mildly protective tariff in favour of the British sugar islands, but the prices quoted in the Thirteen Colonies for sugar, molasses, and rum do not indicate that the legislation had any radical effect upon the trade.¹⁴

The fourth part of our inquiry—that relating to the period after 1763—is a different matter. The researches of Schlesinger and others have demonstrated how the British measures of that period aroused the resentment of the merchants who unleashed an avalanche of agitation which soon went beyond their control. The agitation was not directed toward revolution at first, but agitation by its very nature promotes conditions favourable for revolution—and revolution followed as a natural sequence. Yet, conceding all the irritation thus aroused, we must still face the questions: Were the measures unduly exploitive? Did they fundamentally upset the economic equilibrium? Were they fatal ills which would inevitably lead to the death of the Empire, or merely minor upsets from which the Empire might have recovered—granted otherwise favourable conditions and good luck?

In reviewing the period it does not seem fair to blame British mercantilism for prescribing regulations which were demanded by the circumstances of the time. The British currency and land

¹³Cf. Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, XXVIII, 225, July 7, 1715; XXXII, 413-14, Sept. 8, 1721; XXXVIII, 326-7, Nov. 5, 1731.

¹⁴See Anne Bezanson, Robert D. Gray, and Miriam Hussey, *Prices in Colonial Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1935); Arthur H. Cole, *Wholesale Commodity Prices in the United States, 1700-1861*, and *Statistical Supplement* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939).

policies seem to fall under this category. The restrictions upon paper money undoubtedly distressed those who lacked funds, but they merely affirmed a truth which Americans had to learn from sad experience—that in the eighteenth century at least, no political alchemy could transmute paper into gold. Similarly the Proclamation of 1763 and the Quebec Act of 1774 essentially concerned imperial problems and American imitation of the policy after independence was not mere flattery but a tribute to its inherent soundness. The measures disappointed those who had hoped to acquire fortunes from land speculation, but what else could the British have done? Neither they nor the United States government after them could allow private individuals to stir up trouble by moving into Indian territory before the way had been prepared for settlement by negotiations which extinguished the Indians' claims to the area. In view of the British debt it was merely good fiscal policy to charge for the land, and the prices and terms of sale proposed by the British mercantilists seem very reasonable when compared with the prices and terms adopted by the federal government after 1787.¹⁵ And what solution did the Thirteen States themselves find for the conflicting claims to the territory west of the Alleghanies except to create a new governmental unit?

To one who frankly does not profess to be an expert on the point, it is difficult to understand how British mercantilism discriminated materially against the colonists. It is true that in the manoeuvring for land grants, British interests sometimes clashed with colonial interests, but we hear fully as much about clashes between different colonial groups. Both the small frontiersmen and the big speculators were charged more for land than they were accustomed to pay, but it was not as much as they were to be charged by the United States government thereafter. In the readjustments which accompanied the establish-

¹⁵The conditions of sale established by the British in 1774, stipulated sale by public auction and a minimum price of 6d. per acre (which however bore an annual quit-rent of 1/2d. per acre) and terms, cash (New York Colonial Documents, VIII, 410-13). The Ordinance of 1785 stipulated a 640 acre unit of purchase and a minimum price of one dollar an acre, terms, cash. The Land Act of 1796 retained the 640 acre unit of purchase but raised the minimum price to two dollars an acre and stipulated a down payment of one-half, half of the remainder within thirty days, and the balance within one year. The Harrison Land Act of 1800 reduced the unit of purchase to 320 acres but retained the minimum price of two dollars an acre and stipulated a down payment of one quarter, and the balance in four equal yearly payments. The Land Act of 1820 reduced the unit of purchase to 80 acres and the minimum price to \$1.25 an acre but abolished the credit system and re-instituted cash terms (Benjamin H. Hibbard, *A History of the Public Land Policies*, New York, 1924).

ment of the new policies the fur traders of the Thirteen Colonies suffered somewhat because of the machinations of British opponents but their loss was not great, and in any event by the Revolutionary period trade in furs formed only a negligible fraction of the colonial economy.¹⁶

The pre-Revolutionary taxation measures, however, are a different matter, and one for which British mercantilism must bear full responsibility.¹⁷ Yet in analysing the figures we find that the average annual revenue raised by the Sugar Acts, the Townshend Acts, and all the other taxes collected in the Thirteen Colonies by the British government amounted to only £31,000. This sum barely exceeded the indirect taxes which were collected on colonial merchandise passing through England. Moreover, both the taxes collected indirectly in England and directly in the colonies failed to equal the bounties which the British government was paying to the colonies—to say nothing of the advantages which they were deriving from preferential duties on their shipments to England. More interesting still, calculated on an annual per capita basis, the taxes collected during the Revolutionary period directly in the colonies and indirectly in England, totalled less than one-seventh of the taxes assessed at the beginning of the century.¹⁸

¹⁶According to tables compiled by Murray G. Lawson from the Inspector General's accounts (Customs 3), the imports of colonial furs decreased from 1.0 per cent of the total exports from the Thirteen Colonies to England in 1750 to 0.87 per cent in 1755, to 0.51 per cent in 1760, 0.94 per cent in 1765, 0.6 per cent in 1770, and 0.45 per cent in 1775. These percentages, however, should be further reduced because exports of the Thirteen Colonies to Scotland amounted to about one-half of the exports to England in 1769 (Customs 14, vol. 1B) and the value of exports elsewhere than Great Britain almost equalled the value of exports to Great Britain (T. Pitkin, *A Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States of America: Its Connection with Agriculture and Manufactures* . . . , Hartford, Conn., 1816, 21-3). Thus at the outbreak of the Revolution the fur trade constituted less than one-fifth of one per cent of the total exports of the Thirteen Colonies and probably had never greatly exceeded one-third of one per cent in the second half of the century. An examination of the figures in Pitkin (*ibid.*) discloses (when the £91,486 there given for the value of furs is reduced to almost one-seventh to allow for the inclusion of furs from Canada, Hudson Bay, and similar regions) that the fur trade was less important in 1770 to the Thirteen Colonies than that in spermaceti candles or in horses, to say nothing of the more important staple commodities like indigo, rice, tobacco, or provisions. The decline in importance of the fur trade dates back far before 1763. In New York, the colony most interested in the trade, furs had constituted 32 per cent of the exports to England in 1720 and had declined to 30 per cent in 1730, 23 per cent in 1740, 16 per cent in 1750, 13.8 per cent in 1755, 4.8 per cent in 1760, 10.1 per cent in 1765, 3.3 per cent in 1770, and 2.1 per cent in 1775.

¹⁷These taxes, of course, differed in many ways from earlier measures but they had very definite economic effects, however political some of their aims may have been. Consequently, it seemed necessary to include them if our discussion of mercantilism was to be complete.

¹⁸Harper, "Effect of the Navigation Acts," 27-9.

Yet even though the amount of taxation was not great, we must consider the possibility that the form of its assessment detrimentally affected colonial interests. The Tea Act, for one, definitely injured the illicit trade in tea by so reducing the price of the legal article that it lessened, if it did not eliminate, the profit from smuggling.¹⁹ However unfair smugglers may have thought such tactics, they can hardly be said to have injured the economy of the country—especially since tea was not a pivotal commodity.

Molasses, the rum which was made from it, and the provision trade which accompanied it, however, were vital factors in colonial economy, and historians have often called attention to their importance in such books as *Rum, Romance, and Rebellion*.²⁰ The Sugar Act of 1764 served notice that the British government intended to make its regulations effective when it lowered the duty on foreign sugar and molasses and prohibited the importation of foreign rum entirely. The provisions concerning sugar and rum were comparatively immaterial since no great quantities were imported, but the duty of 3d. per gallon on molasses was another matter, since literally millions of gallons came from the foreign West Indies.²¹ Many feared that the trade could not bear a tax of 3d. per gallon, and in response to their pleas the duty was reduced in 1766 to 1d. per gallon and the tax was assessed on both British and foreign molasses. The excitement aroused by these taxes leads one to look for evidence of the havoc which they wrought in trade, but an examination of the wholesale prices of molasses does not disclose any noticeable change attributable to the legislation.²² And if we carry our investi-

¹⁹V. D. Harrington, *The New York Merchant on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York, 1935), 249, 344; A. M. Schlesinger, *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, 1763-1776* (New York, 1918), 262-7.

²⁰By Charles W. Taussig, New York, 1928.

²¹Customs 16, vol. 1 gives the following figures concerning the imports of molasses:

	FROM FOREIGN WEST INDIES	FROM BRITISH WEST INDIES
	Gallons	Gallons
1768.....	2,803,275	326,675
1769.....	3,413,367	299,678
1770.....	3,408,784	226,876

Figures for the importation of rum are not so satisfactory as we could desire, but according to Pitman (*British West Indies*, 208, n. 36) importations of foreign molasses exceeded those of foreign rum 27 to 1 in 1714, 39 to 1 in 1715, 34 to 1 in 1716, and 64 to 1 in 1717. According to the Naval Office Lists for 1764, approximately 38,000 gallons of rum were imported to Boston from the British West Indies as compared with 200 gallons from the foreign West Indies (Public Record Office, London, C.O. 58, vol. 850); at Salem and Marblehead the corresponding figures (for a half year only) were 22,000 and 1,000 (C.O. 5, vol. 850); at New Hampshire 63,000 and none (C.O. 5, vol. 969); at New York 87,000 and 5,000 (C.O. 5, vol. 1228).

²²*Supra*, note 14.

gations further we find that the tax which the federal government placed and kept upon imports of molasses after 1790 almost equaled the 3d. per gallon placed upon foreign molasses in 1764 and materially exceeded the 1d. duty retained after 1766.²³ In brief, whatever the connection between rum and romance, the statistics of colonial trade disclose no correlation between rum and rebellion.

In so far as the statistics can be followed, the correlation between wine and rebellion is much closer. The Sugar Act of 1764 had also placed a duty upon wines which gave those imported by way of Britain a preferential rate of £3 per ton. The preference was not sufficient to enable the English to capture the trade in Madeira wine, but it enabled them to gain a flourishing trade in port which previously had been negligible.²⁴ Yet such an infringement of colonial taste hardly seems to justify a revolt—especially when we note that the quantity involved was not large, and that by the post-Revolutionary period Americans preferred port and other wines to Madeira.²⁵

Thus, an analysis of the economic effects of British mercantilism fails to establish its exploitive aspects as the proximate cause of the Revolution. The only measures which afforded a sufficient economic grievance were the *entrepôt* provisions of the Navigation Acts, which governed the trans-Atlantic trade. They helped to create a fundamental economic unbalance, but cannot be connected directly with the Revolution. The colonists had lived under them for more than a century without desiring independence and even in the Revolutionary period with few exceptions the *entrepôt* provisions were accepted as the mother country's due for the protection which she afforded.²⁶ In fact, the official

²³Adam Seybert, *Statistical Annals . . . of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1818), 398-9, 455-6, 469-70.

²⁴In 1750 (before the new tax was placed on Madeira wine) England exported to the Thirteen Colonies 15 tons, 1 hogshead and 13 gallons of Madeira; in 1765 and 1773 (after the imposition of the new tax), the exports were only 22 tons, 1 hogshead, 62 gallons, and 23 tons, 1 hogshead, 48 gallons, respectively. In the case of port, however, England's exportations rose from only 15 tons, 2 hogsheads, and 3 gallons in 1750 to 385 tons, 53 gallons in 1765, and 860 tons, 2 hogsheads, 60 gallons in 1773 (Customs 3, vols. 50, 65, 73).

²⁵Seybert, *Statistical Annals*, 164-9, 260.

²⁶The necessity of taking considerable space to calculate the burdens laid upon the colonies by mercantilism should not be regarded as a denial that Britain had real contributions to make. The benefits of military and naval protection were very important. British merchants also probably helped the colonists to find markets for their products but it is easy to overemphasize such assistance. During the greater part of the time the *entrepôt* requirements were operative the Dutch were much better qualified to serve efficiently as middlemen in colonial products than the English. Similarly the flattening of the curve of the American tobacco exports after the Revolution is not as significant as it seems at first glance. The destruction wrought

representatives of the colonies were willing to guarantee the British commercial system provided that the measures of political taxation were withdrawn.²⁷ If there were any inexorable economic forces which were inevitably drawing the colonies toward revolution, they are hard to detect and the colonists were unaware of them.

Anyone who maintains that the Revolution resulted from the inevitable clash of competing capitalisms must reckon with several points: That burdens upon the trans-Atlantic trade were proportionately greater at the beginning of the eighteenth century than in 1776; that the restraints of the land and currency policies were basically the same as those prescribed by the federal government; and that after 1766 the taxes laid on molasses by Britain were less than those imposed by the United States after 1790. He should also explain why the surplus colonial capital alleged to be bursting its confines did not venture into the manufacturing enterprises which the law did not prohibit; why the colonists did not finance their own middlemen in England; and, finally, why they did not pay their debts. If by a clash of expanding capitalism is meant that colonists with money were irritated because their freedom of action was restrained by outside regulation, one must immediately concede that the charge is justified; but such colonial resentment seems more properly classified as a political rather than an economic factor. It is merely an old point dressed in new garb and was better expressed by John Adams when he declared that the American Revolution began when the first plantation was settled.²⁸

When we turn, however, from the economic effects of mercantilism to its regulatory aspects, we are faced with a different story. We can establish a direct correlation between mercantilism and the Revolution. Although earlier English regulations had been reasonably satisfactory the regulatory technique

by the Revolution, and the interruption to the trade, first by the Revolution, and then by the wars in Europe, would appear to have done much more to discourage tobacco production than the elimination of the laws making Britain an *entrepôt*.

²⁷Resolve no. 4 of the "Declaration and Resolves of the First Continental Congress, October 14, 1774" (as quoted in *Documents Illustrative of the Formation of the Union of the American States*, selected, arranged, and indexed by Charles C. Tansill, Washington, 1927, 3) contains the following statement: "But, from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interest of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament as are bona fide, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members, excluding every idea of taxation internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America without their consent."

²⁸*Works of John Adams*, ed. by Charles F. Adams (10 vols., Boston, 1856), X, 313.

of the British government under George III was pitifully defective. As a mother country, Britain had much to learn. Any modern parents' magazine could have told George III's ministers that the one mistake not to make is to take a stand and then to yield to howls of anguish. It was a mistake which the British government made repeatedly. It placed a duty of 3d. per gallon on molasses, and when it encountered opposition, reduced it to 1d. It provided for a Stamp Act and withdrew it in the face of temper tantrums. It provided for external taxes to meet the colonial objections and then yielded again by removing all except one. When finally it attempted to enforce discipline it was too late. Under the circumstances, no self-respecting child—or colonist—would be willing to yield.

Moreover, British reforming zeal came at a very bad time. The colonists were in a particularly sensitive state due to the post-war deflation and the economic distress which accompanied it. The British also attempted to exert unusual control at a time when the removal of the French from Canada had minimized the colonists' dependence upon Britain. Most important of all, the reforms followed one another too rapidly.

In social reform, irritation often is to be measured not so much by what a regulation attempts to achieve as by the extent to which it changes established habits. The early history of English mercantilism itself offers a good illustration of the point. Bitter complaints came from Virginia and Barbados when tobacco and sugar were first enumerated because those colonies had become accustomed to conditions of comparatively free trade, whereas few or no complaints were heard from Jamaica which had developed under the restrictive system.²⁹ The mercantilist system was geared for leisurely operation and before George III's reign succeeded by virtue of that fact. Its early restraints led to Bacon's rebellion in Virginia but fortunately for the mother country the pressure against New England was deferred until the next decade when it, too, led to an explosion in the form of revolt against Andros.³⁰ These uprisings were separated both geographically and chronologically so that neither attained dangerous proportions, and both were followed by a reasonably satisfactory settlement of at least some of the colonial grievances.

²⁹George L. Beer, *The Old Colonial System, 1660-1754* (2 vols., New York, 1912), I, 162-3 (Virginia); I, 164-5 (Barbados); II, 83 (Jamaica); Harper, *The English Navigation Laws*, 246, n. 37.

³⁰Beer, *Old Colonial System*, II, 148 ff.; Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Torchbearer of the Revolution: The Story of Bacon's Rebellion and its Leader* (Princeton, 1940).

During the Revolutionary era, however, the tempo of reform was not leisurely. Doubtless all the colonists were not irritated by any one British reform, but each individual had his own feeling of grievance which enabled him to agree fervently with the complaints of others against British policy and thus add to the heated tempers of the time. The politician who objected to the political implications in taxation reforms found an audience in the land speculators and frontiersmen who complained that the colonists were being deprived of the reward of their blood and suffering by the Proclamation of 1763 and the Quebec Act of 1774. Debtors and inflationists chimed in to tell of the iniquities of the Currency Act; lawyers and printers could not forget the threat to their interests in the Stamp Act. On Sundays the preachers thundered against the dangers of popery in Quebec and voiced their fear that Britain planned to establish an Anglican Church in the colonies. The merchant was always ready to explain not merely how harmful British taxes were to colonial economy, but how irksome were the new administrative rules and regulations. Such chronological and geographical barriers as existed were overcome and a community of antagonisms was maintained by the Committees of Correspondence and other agitators, but such revolutionary forces could not have succeeded if the different elements of the colonies had not recently experienced a mutual sense of grievance.

In short, many of the misunderstandings which have arisen in connection with mercantilism and the American Revolution have grown out of the failure to distinguish between the two phases of mercantilism: exploitation and regulation. The fact that the colonists were exploited by English mercantilism does not necessarily mean that mercantilism caused the American Revolution. Economic forces are not magnets which inexorably move men in predetermined patterns. For better or for worse, men try to regulate their economic as well as their political destiny. A large part of governmental activity consists in attempting to mould economic conduct and to minimize the friction which results from clashes or constraints. English mercantilism was such an attempt. It succeeded rather well in minimizing friction until 1764. For the next decade it bungled badly, and the penalty was the loss of the Thirteen Colonies.

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Ms. Am. Hist. Assoc. vol. 10, p. 100
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THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION RECONSIDERED

LIKE all epic events the American Revolution has to its credit a rich and plenteous literature. All that is written is not to be taken at face value. The literary spirit seized upon the picturesque and dramatic only to take a loose hold on reality. The specialist applied a single theory of causality only to forget that history is a complex of infinite varieties and dramatic extremes. The patriotic spirit glorified a triumphant cause only to do less than justice to the lost cause and leave an ancient grudge. The American Revolution is a movement too decisive in the unfolding of modern history to be left to the play of pride, prejudice, or preconception. In late years scholars moved by the spirit of an honourable truth have searched in hidden nooks for unexploited sources and found them in abundance. Competently trained for the task, they have weighed and reweighed the accumulated evidence in the scales of history to reach a just and equitable balance. These many scholarly productions have opened wide the windows of the Revolution to let in the wholesome air of a fuller and saner knowledge, to expel the stuffy atmosphere of passion and truth half-concealed.

The old colonial Empire was not conceived in the minds of prescient statesmen, or built in the pursuit of an enlightened goal. Nor was the American Revolution the result of immediate and fortuitous circumstances. Cosmic events are long on the way, shaped and directed by time and occasion. * Through the years the issues were formed and sharpened, the forces gathered strength, and finally the movement thrust forward its huge frame in tragic and dramatic upheaval. The Revolution was not a simple event easily explained within a narrow set of terms. It was broad and complex, gathering within its grasp multiple forces and many interrelated and interacting parts. It embraced not only the disputed question of the colonial relationship but also problems distinctly American and national in nature. It found its place in the world order of European antagonisms and balances. It falls within the realm of ideas, for the eighteenth century was an age of rationalism which gave impulse to an intensive discussion of political theories. The lines of these forces of thought and action run far back into the past and then come forward to converge upon the revolutionary era.

The discovery of America, brilliant and daring as a maritime exploit, takes on real significance only when considered in connection with the surge of compelling currents of European life.

A New World came opportunely into view as a solution of the fundamental problems which perplexed and disturbed the equilibrium of existence in the Old World. The emerging nation-states, whose consolidation marks the dawn of a new age, found in expansion oversea the answer to the problems of economic power so requisite to national independence in an age of clashing sovereign states. The rising merchant class found in colonial expansion broader opportunities for the investment of trading capital. Merchant capitalists in league with a growing commercial state brought colonies to the touchstone of economic values and did not find them wanting.

Capital, awaiting investment in the development of the virgin resources of a new land, was helpless without labour. Labour was supplied in ever-increasing quantities by human distress. The forces of expulsion were terrible in severity. America came timely to deliver countless thousands of English, Scots, Germans, French from the caprice and tyranny of princes, from intolerable economic disabilities, from cruel civil codes, from the repeated scourge of war. The exodus was a phase of the Protestant Reformation. Christianity lay broken into fragments and the doctrine of soul liberty lay in the future. Like-minded religious groups, too weak to resist constituted authority, too strong in conviction to bend the knee in subjection or to accept compromise, crossed the sea to build commonwealths or to create separate communities in the several brands of Christian living. Whatever the forces of expulsion or attraction, many and varied as they were, the exodus of people seeking deliverance supplied the labour to implement English mercantilism. England, unlike Spain and France, opened the colonial portals to all regardless of race or creed, for population meant wealth and not commonwealths to be forged or souls to be saved. The colonial Empire was built not by a mercantilist state but by people seeking the opportunity for human betterment. Friction was bound to arise and continue between two apparently irreconcilable forces, a presiding state concerned with colonies as business dependencies and a vigorous people predisposed to order their own affairs.

English America has become classical as a gigantic laboratory for the trial of experimental enterprises in human living from the days of the Puritan Canaan and the Quaker "Holy Experiment" to the age of the "New Deal." In early colonial days various influences lent their aid to these speculative ventures. Nature provided a spacious and generous continent on which each group

could go its peculiar way without unduly jostling its neighbour. Puritans and Quakers came to grip with realities in their efforts to realize the implications of their peculiar ideas, and Pietists withdrew from the evils of the world to live in the quiet and intimate fellowship of the group. Nature provided a thousand leagues of a temperamental sea which separated Europe and America, and, in the age of sail, seriously reduced the pressure of Old-World authority. In early days England came indirectly to the aid of free enterprise in the colonies. While the island was torn and twisted by the surge of liberal forces beating against the barriers of archaic and arbitrary royal power, the colonists went their own unhampered way. With no pre-existing society before them, with England far distant and absorbed in domestic difficulties, the colonists fashioned and entrenched their institutions in response to local needs and desires, and thereby gave to organized life the stamp of self-sufficiency. And the colonists passed through no infancy of political experience. They crossed the sea bearing with them deep convictions and political principles rejected by the privileged order of the Old World. Democracy was not born in the New World. It came with the colonists and it was fostered by raw frontier conditions which played no favourites and developed self-reliance, courage, and individualism. Be it noted that not one colony was settled but many colonies, and each in the process of an independent evolution developed a genius and temper peculiar to itself. The free enterprise of people was laying the foundations of separate commonwealths and at the same time building a unique empire of distinct political parts.

The eighteenth century worked amazing changes in the English world. Not the least was the Revolution of 1688 which crowned with success the long and turbulent struggle to fix limitations on the exercise of an arbitrary royal will. It was an insular victory. The great organic laws, the Bill of Rights, the Triennial Act, the Act of Succession, applied only in the realm and left the royal prerogative untouched oversea. Legality, however, was not in harmony with reality. Various pressures operated to destroy the colonial charters as barriers to the royal will and opened the path in a majority of the colonies for the entrance of officials directly responsible to the Crown. Other obstacles deep and durable in nature remained to challenge and check the kingly will. Geographical remoteness accentuated the disharmony between theory and fact. Distance and the difficulties of communication weakened the arm of royal authority

across the sea. More important is the fact that the breed of the colonial people could not be changed. Colonial self-control was older than government from a distant imperial centre, and the prerogative power faced the colonies as self-reliant political entities. The futile experiment in New England under Andros yields ample evidence that local loyalties and institutions could not be outraged with impunity by the imposition of arbitrary royal power. Indeed, the Revolution of 1688 was more than an insular affair. The New England colonies also overturned the arbitrary schemes of James II.

In the royal constitution the prerogative as vested chiefly in the Governor and Council was the centre of political gravity. Representative Assemblies were not denied the colonies, but they were put in the lowly place of subordination to the Governor. Theoretically popular bodies existed in the colonies by the grace of the royal will as the source of political power, but, in very fact, they were so deeply rooted and sanctioned by time that to deny the colonies representation in the provincial order would have provoked bitter irritation. The relationship between royal and popular organs embraced all the elements of a prolonged constitutional conflict. The extreme disparity between opposing political principles and the clash between local and external interests created an intolerable situation. The solution of an awkward dilemma was committed into the hands of the Assemblies. To them was left the power of the purse. The support of their civil and military establishments gave them a fulcrum which they used effectively and guarded zealously to raise the popular bodies to a controlling position. Government by royal instructions in the long run proved to be no match for government by local financial control. The provinces were in the process of transformation into states with the organs and spirit of statehood, and the very foundation of the political evolution was the popular control of taxation and expenditure. This was the lever employed by the Parliament at Westminster to harmonize the royal will with that of the legislature. Indeed, the line of historical continuity in the English world is clear. As liberal forces marched to victory in England in one century, identical forces in the colonies triumphed in the next. The Revolution of 1688 was more than an insular event, for the colonial Assemblies arrogated to themselves the benefits of the English triumph. The colonial leaders knew the history of England and well they knew it. The Assemblies buttressed their claims to privilege and power by citing

the signal documents from Magna Carta to the Bill of Rights; by searching out and quoting parliamentary precedent; by frequent reference to Coke and numerous commentators on the rights of Englishmen. They became firm and fixed in the belief that their Assemblies belonged to them by the inherent right of Englishmen and were not dependent upon royal grace and favour. In brief, the Assemblies in position and attributes were to the colonies what the Parliament at Westminster was to insular England.

Peaceably and almost imperceptibly the waves of history fashioned a unique and novel political structure of empire. In general terms it consisted of a multicellular order in which political powers were divided and distributed among the separate communities in America and the presiding government in London. The British Parliament was chiefly an insular body, legislating intensively for the realm and only occasionally for the colonies in the interest of a commercial empire. It was a reasonable division of power. A legislature, far removed and without colonial members, lacked the knowledge to deal with the affairs of many communities, each with its own peculiar genius and local problems in a land of great diversities. The transition from colony to commonwealth was a wholesome evolution. The colonies, inhabited by a vigorous, self-reliant, and experienced people, could not always be kept in the garments of infancy. For after all the strength of the Empire rested upon the growing maturity and vitality of the component parts.

As the colonies increased in political and social stature, they also experienced an amazing expansion in population and production. In the eighteenth century thousands fled from shocking conditions in Europe to become free settlers or contract labourers in the colonies. Other thousands were drawn forcibly from Africa to meet a labour shortage. As population spread over the virgin and generous land to increase production, commerce steadily mounted in all quarters of the Atlantic basin. In consequence, the economic empire was no longer nicely balanced in its differing and complementary physiographic parts. Colonial commerce tended to break over the fixed lines of the British mercantile system as international exchange became more essential to the economic welfare of the colonies. The extension of commerce to the foreign West Indies, so vital to the strength of the northern British colonies, was placed under heavy handicaps to protect the special interests of the absentee British sugar planters and their

British allies. The vexatious changes and delays involved in the trans-shipment of the major portion of Chesapeake tobacco by way of the British staple to a competitive world market reduced the planter's profit to a very narrow margin. As colonial capital accumulated and sought investment in manufactures, British statutes forbade competition with major British industries. As colonial specie was drained off to liquidate an unfavourable balance of trade, British officials did nothing in a constructive way to provide the colonies with a necessary and sound currency. The advantages of a reciprocal nature which accrued to the colonies and the metropolis alike are too well known to be elaborated here. The identity of economic interests was close, and both colonies and Britain grew strong within the confines of a commercial empire. The chief fault of the mercantilist lay in a negative attitude. The narrowing restrictions upon an expanding colonial commerce were not confined to parliamentary statute. A competent scholar has expressed the judgment that royal instructions "representing the negative attitude of the Crown in maintaining the mercantile system, aroused more opposition than the acts of trade themselves." The mercantilist in league with the London bureaucrat consolidated his position at the very time colonial society in its restless and youthful vigour pressed hard against a fixed institutional mould. In a conflict of interests the voice of the British merchant was superior to that of the colonial agent in London. But in spite of closing restrictions, the colonies were not unduly hampered in their growth to economic and political strength. Parliamentary law and royal order contrary to colonial propriety and convenience provoked the colonists to irritation but in practice they worked no great hardship. The weakness of royal government made evasion possible where British measures proved too binding.

The old colonial Empire was caught and held firmly within the grasp of persistent and compelling international forces. The concept of an isolated sovereign state, a law unto itself, has ever been an abstraction out of accord with iron realities. Amid the clash of militant and self-regarding states no one could stand alone, free from protecting alliances. Witness the Anglo-Dutch alliance against the vaulting ambitions of Philip II of Spain and Louis XIV of France. An European balance of power, as a doctrine and system, was fashioned in the crucible of practical necessity, and combinations of powers against powers continued to punctuate the years. International balances failed to prevent

war but they tempered international anarchy and provided a measure of security to nations otherwise menaced in isolation. Again, no nation was a self-contained economic unit able to stand alone free from foreign trade. In the bitter antagonisms among nation-states economic independence was a prerequisite to national independence. From this vantage point colonies as sources of needed supplies and markets for surplus goods under state control released the nation from a perilous dependence upon foreign and competitive trade areas. And the wealth yielded by colonial commerce to the mother country meant power not in an absolute quantity but relative to the European balance. So it was through the years from the Anglo-Dutch alliance of 1585 against Spain to the Franco-American alliance of 1778 against Britain, the wealth of the New World was employed either to maintain or redress the European balance. In turn an equilibrium of power among competing European states gave security also to a nation's possessions overseas. The colonies, weak in their isolation, heavily dependent for economic strength on commerce overseas, found the security essential to them within the protective walls of British power. This utilitarian bond was one of the strongest forces holding the colonial Empire together. Less well understood until recently is the history of an American balance as a concomitant of the European equilibrium. An equation of balances, which marked the era following the Treaty of Utrecht, harmonized well with the principles of mercantilism. In brief, stability in Europe rested upon the recognition of a balanced distribution of colonies and commerce among the powers struggling for supremacy in America. Difficult as it was to maintain international equipoise in Europe, it was tilted out of alignment by the overthrow of the American adjustment. Expanding British and colonial energies pressing steadily harder against the static French and Spanish colonial systems, upset the American proportions, and thereby destroyed the European balance. The Seven Years' War was the answer to the problem and Britain arose victorious from the conflict, a colossus striding across land and sea.

The triumph of arms threw into the lap of the British ruling class grave penalties and responsibilities not to be ignored or evaded. The recent conquests raised fresh problems demanding urgent solution. Defects in the administration of the old colonies brought into relief by the impact of war called for remedial measures. A new era dawned in the British world; a grand

opportunity for statesmanship of high order to fashion out of victory a durable edifice of empire. But the fruits of victory were lost as troubled days dogged the footsteps of mediocre rulers. The pattern of British efforts to solve the problems is too familiar to need much embroidery here. The American frontier without question required defence and the responsibility rested upon the central power. The war had doubled the national debt and now that the colonies were released from French pressure, it was deemed only fair that the colonists should share in the cost of frontier protection. Two measures were passed to tax the colonies for their share. Regardless of the fact that the colonial merchants had reduced to a nullity the Molasses Act of 1733 which unduly hampered an essential commerce with the foreign West Indies, that measure was revived in the Sugar Act of 1764 with reduced duties in the thought that it would yield a revenue and still give protection to the special interests of the British sugar planters. Heedless of the protests of the colonial Assemblies and the warnings of their agents in London, the Stamp Act was passed to complete the colonial portion. A comprehensive Currency Act forbade the use of paper money as a legal tender and required the redemption of outstanding issues. New regulations placed further restrictions upon established lines of colonial commerce. The administrative arm was strengthened to check violations of British law.

King, ministry, and Parliament were of one mind in the passage of these measures and the colonists were of one mind in their resentment of them. Across the colonies spread a great awakening. Long years of comparative freedom of action had bred a consciousness of strength and a spirit of independence. Now within a few short years, freed from French pressure and on the threshold of statehood, they were thrust further into the confines of a mercantile order. Every colonial class was adversely affected and the explosion was correspondingly severe and widespread. Mob violence nullified the Stamp Act and gave proof that royal government in the colonies was impotent in the face of an enraged people. The weapon of the boycott told heavily upon British merchants and Parliament responded to their appeals by revoking the Stamp Act. With no realization that royal government in America was unequal to the task of enforcing the will of Parliament, the Townshend Acts were passed to raise a revenue on a list of commodities imported into the colonies. Again the colonists expressed their resentment with violence and boycott.

Parliament acknowledged that the Townshend duties were a mistake by repealing all taxes except the duty on tea. A few years of uneasy peace and fair prosperity followed. But, heedless of the fact that the colonists were quick to oppose an invasion of their freedom of action, taking no thought that colonial emotions were stirred to the pitch of suspicion of any British measures, Parliament proceeded to use the colonial market to pull the bankrupt East India Company out of a deep financial morass. The waters of colonial discontent were lashed into a storm. The Tea Act went the way of nullification and now British power turned upon the colonists with the whip of coercion.

King, ministry, and Parliament, united in thought and interest, attempted to control the present and shape the future of the Empire by clinging to outmoded conceptions. They represented the colonies not at all and the British people very imperfectly; they represented a privileged class which stood adamant upon the doctrine that the colonies remained in the position of economic assets and political dependencies subject to the sovereign power of the presiding state. Callous to the miseries and injustices which deeply marked British society, a privileged order was not prone to take heed of the realities of life oversea. It may be said that the ruling caste was sincere but mistaken in its efforts to solve the problems of empire; that living far distant and steeped in British tradition, they could not be expected to have an accurate knowledge of colonial temper and conditions; that opposition to constituted authority must be broken in the interest of imperial unity. The record of events forces the conclusion that the ruling class refused to display vision, understanding, a willingness to know before acting, a desire to experiment in the adjustment of an old order to meet new conditions. Economic and social conditions in the colonies were unfavourable to direct taxation at any time and to launch a policy of taxation for revenue at a time when the colonies suffered the ills of a harsh economic depression revealed a lack of intelligence. British rulers had every reason to know that to exercise authority and then to yield to pressure created little colonial respect for that authority. The failure of royal government in the colonies gave no pause to the imperial government as it proceeded on its way to defy a vigorous people who were too mature and self-reliant to bend to the will of a distant and alien privileged caste.

The American movement was not separatist in nature. It was a revolt against the injustices of the British system. Over

and over again colonial leaders proposed plans and formulas designed to reconcile the differences, and thereby save the Empire. They did not demand a new order, but a recognition of the political constitution fashioned by the waves of history and sanctioned by time. The colonists faced a very real danger of a power which insisted that it was without legal limitations. The power of the purse was the basis of colonial self-control, and parliamentary taxation for defence might be extended to taxation for the support of the civil establishment to the destruction of home rule. The Townshend Acts confirmed colonial fears. If Parliament in the fullness of power granted a monopoly of one product to an English corporation, there was no bar to the extension of that policy to the destruction of private business enterprise. The independence implied in the sovereignty of king in Parliament was inconsistent with an Empire composed of political entities grown to statehood. The fervent and numerous appeals from the colonies to the high court of Parliament praying for satisfactory adjustments fell upon deaf ears. The exercise of an unlimited power was fast dissolving the imperial bond. Thwarted in efforts at self-expression, colonial nationalism became a disintegrating force.

The totality of the Revolution may not be adequately explained by treating it solely within the terms of the disputed colonial relationship. Much of the strength of the movement was supplied by forces peculiarly American in nature. The colonial era was not a golden age when political and economic democracy flowered freely to perfection. Before the turbulence created by the Stamp Act, colonial society exhibited schisms and frictions. To the top arose a privileged and dominant merchant class in the ports of northern commerce and a planter aristocracy on the broad acres of the southern tidewater. These groups, well-knit, affluent, and capable, won through their power in the Assemblies the contest for home rule against royal and proprietary authority. Having achieved a controlling position, they wanted nothing more than to crystallize an order in which they occupied a place of power and prestige. In the ports of commerce a widening gulf appeared between the narrow privileged class and the multitude of common people. At many points friction grew between the ruling aristocracy of the seaboard and the multitude of small farmers and tenants in the interior. The years after 1760 when city mobs outraged royal officials and destroyed property were the very years when the Paxton Boys of interior Pennsylvania, the Regulators from the uplands of the

Carolinas, the farmers of Upper New York and New Jersey took arms in their hands in revolt against economic and political oppressions by the privileged classes. The revolt against British threats to colonial home rule was joined with the revolt within against intolerable conditions. Much of the history of the Revolution must be unfolded in terms of the rising political consciousness and power of the colonial under-privileged. At first the colonial mind was single in opposition to the extension of British power and the gap between classes closed temporarily. Recognizing the identity of British and colonial commercial interests, the merchants used the weapon of the boycott, while the city mobs, operating on a lower level, employed violence. A bit of muscular display, thought the conservative, might be a good thing to convince British rulers of the evil of their way. But mob psychology is not given to nice discrimination and the conservatives began to realize that a mob out of hand was likely to undermine not only their high position at home but also the integrity of the Empire. Conscious of that fact and wanting nothing more than to save both, they tried to check or to moderate the disorderly elements, and to rely on legal channels to effect an adjustment with Britain. Their strategy was hopeless. Parliament and ministry turned a deaf ear to colonial petitions for redress of grievances and played into the hands of the unruly elements with the successive measures from the Stamp Act to the coercive statutes. The radical forces were quick to seize the opportunity to display their power and to enter into organized politics. In this process the cities played a dominant part, a fact too often overlooked. Here there was social concentration and the possibility of prompt collective action; here the impact of British measures was felt most promptly and keenly; and here the emotional and resentful elements were easily moulded by skilful leaders. In every port there was a Sam Adams or two to enliven and direct the mob and then to bring about a union of the urban population with the discontented farmers of the interior. Gradually they organized as British pressure increased. Committees of Correspondence gave way to popular committees to enforce the boycott, and finally the radicals came to power in the provincial Congresses of 1774. The revolt against Britain to secure a redress of grievances and thereby save the Empire, was slowly and irresistibly shifting to revolution. Government based upon British sovereignty was transferred to government based upon popular consent. The great decision of July, 1776, was the only solution

when ultra-conservatives on one side and ultra-radicals on the other gained the upper hand and obliterated the middle ground.

The spirit of nationality spread with that of statehood. The colonists were bred in the tradition of isolation. Widely scattered and separated along a coastal ribbon from Maine to Georgia, with few agencies on a broad scale as solvents of a parochial mind, their outlook was dimmed by the skyline of local existence and their sympathies were most readily enlisted for the affairs of the immediate community. Geography played an important part in estranging the colonies from Britain and in opening the path to intercolonial association. A thousand leagues of ocean obscured the colonial vision oversea, but a thousand miles of mountains ranging parallel with the coast line proved to be a binding factor. The great influx of immigrants after 1700, finding land in the coastal plain possessed, were forced to direct their course into the foothills and the lateral valleys. The mobility of people, goods, and ideas across artificial boundaries drew converging political and cultural lines north and south. But so deeply rooted and tough of fibre was the provincial spirit that nothing less than a severe shock of external pressure could break the inertia of isolation. The impending war against France was not sufficient to elicit approval of the Plan of Union drafted by far-sighted colonial statesmen at Albany in 1754, and the war itself drew from the colonies an indifferent spirit of co-operation.

Parliament, it was, which supplied the one great principle of union by threatening colonial autonomy. Colonial home rule was the ideal prized beyond all others. The integration of the Empire depended upon a recognition of the reality that the colonies had grown to statehood. The refusal of British rulers to recognize that stern fact broke the Empire apart and forced the colonies to join together in a common cause. They drew toward each other not by reason of a positive regard for each other, but rather out of a common fear and resentment of British power. And yet something more durable and fundamental than geographic unity and external pressure were necessary to develop a spirit which transcended the boundaries of a colony and awakened to life the belief that the colonies belonged to each other. The binding link was formed of a common psychology and an underlying unity in the content of political thought. In the evolution from province to statehood all the colonies moved along similar lines in their interpretations of English law and precedent. Indeed, the Revolution in the realm of ideas common to the thought of

the colonies has been given scant courtesy. The colonists were not content to rest their case upon law and precedent purely English in growth and nature. They appealed to a universal law, the higher law written in nature and deduced by right reason and conscience, to buttress their claims to individual liberties and government by consent. In using this philosophy the colonists were neither borrowers nor imitators. They were inheritors of a philosophy which runs far back into the past, and which mirrors the popular groupings through the years to place checks upon arbitrary power. They drew upon the ancients, the medievalists, upon Locke, Vattel, Puffendorf, Burlamaqui, and many others as their intellectual precursors. The spread of a common philosophy helped to counteract particularism and to create an intellectual basis for nationality. Newspapers and pamphlets, growing in number and influence, cut across boundaries to voice common beliefs and issues and to stimulate united action. The power of the rabid Sons of Liberty and the commercial boycotts were intercolonial in scope. The meeting of the Continental Congress in 1774 and the adoption of the American Association with its assumption of power on a national scale were signal steps in the unfolding of an American nation. Britain infused the breath of life into the slumbering and inchoate spirit of nationality. Slowly, haltingly, without abating one jot in the autonomy of the parts, America was in the process of equipping America with the vision, the spirit, and agencies of a national existence.

To announce secession in the fateful decision of July, 1776, was one thing, to assure it by ordeal of combat was another. One is amazed at the temerity of the revolutionary party in resorting to the judgment of the sword against British might. Considering the strength of particularism, a people divided in allegiance and locked in civil war, the states united chiefly by external pressure and poorly equipped in experience, machinery, and sinews of war on a continental scale, the plunge seemed hopeless. The success of the movement rested without question upon foreign support. The concept and practice of an European balance of power resting upon a collateral American balance existed in all their vigour and again came into play. Defeated in 1763, France at once set about to restore her shattered strength and to await the opportune time to redeem her power and prestige. As British rulers provoked the colonies to arms, France seized the opportunity to redress the balance weighted against her in

Europe, not by an effort to regain her lost colonies, but by helping to shear Britain of the strength she drew from her possessions overseas. Democratic America and France, the very embodiment of absolutism, made strange partners. They drew together not out of a benevolent regard of one toward the other, but out of opposition to a common enemy. The European balance which gave the colonies the security essential to their progress within the protective walls of the British Empire was now realigned to cut the Empire apart and open the way to American independence.

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DISCUSSION OF PROFESSOR HARPER'S AND PROFESSOR ROOT'S PAPERS

At the beginning of this discussion, it should be noted that both of the very excellent papers carried an implication that there were only thirteen British American colonies. As a matter of fact, there were thirty such colonies after 1763 to which the British trade and navigation acts applied uniformly. Whoever seeks to explain the Revolution must show why thirteen colonies joined in the revolt while seventeen remained loyal. Surely the mercantile system did not produce rebels in one colony and patriots in another.

For some years I have been studying contemporary opinion on the eve of the Revolution. Consequently I shall confine my discussion mainly to Professor Harper's paper. His study of the Navigation Acts is a rare piece of objective scholarship. It is the first attempt of any scholar to determine just what the many complicated measures were and how they worked. His conclusion that the commercial system as a whole did not place upon the colonies oppressive economic burdens, and could not have done so to the extent of inciting active opposition, is what was to be expected. My own studies of contemporary opinion confirm his conclusions. The Americans did not oppose the commercial system under which they lived. In no case could I find that any responsible individual assailed the Navigation Acts, and very few indeed assailed any of the genuine trade acts during the years of agitation, 1765-1775. Every individual who participated actively in the Revolution was dead before a historian advanced the theory that the Navigation Acts were a cause of the Revolution. The original author of the theory seems to have been George Bancroft, who based it upon economic theology and cites no

contemporary evidence that Americans actually opposed the Navigation Acts. The myth has continued to grow as later writers expanded it without seeking actual evidence.

Mr. Harper has referred to his essay on the "Effect of the Navigation Acts,"¹ and I assume it is a part of his presentation. In that he concludes that the net cost of the mercantile system to the Americans was not less than \$2,560,000 and not more than \$7,038,000. In arriving at that figure he omitted one very important item of colonial advantage—that of export bounties paid in Britain on articles of British manufacture exported to the colonies. This amounted to £37,395 for 1773, and an average annual payment for the five years 1770-1774, inclusive, of £49,950 or about \$250,000. In addition he omits the drawbacks on goods exported to the colonies from England. These drawbacks ran into large sums. They have been estimated by taking the total drawbacks, determining the percentage they were of total exports, and then applying this to the known exports to America. The result is £497,092 for 1773 and an annual average for the five years, 1770-1774, of £593,291. (The figures in all cases are directly from the Treasury Papers.) If these figures are included, and certainly the first should be, the estimate of the economic burden of the navigation system should be modified. It was costing even less than Mr. Harper has estimated.

I am not suggesting that there was no net cost to American trade as a whole. I am merely pointing out that large sections of American business benefited very largely from the actual operation of the system. Americans freely admitted that the routing of a considerable part of the trade through England carried a hidden tax. They said that was their fair share of the costs of the Imperial Government. They never claimed that they should be favoured parasites enjoying the benefits of a central government, without contributing to its support. To the advantages the colonies received should also be added the benefits of protection, surveys of the Indian country, keeping the Indians in order, use of a diplomatic and consular system, protection of ships from pirates in the Mediterranean, a common postal system, the benefits of a sound currency, and free access to the markets of the greatest self-sufficient empire in the world. It was many years before they could establish similar benefits for themselves.

¹L. A. Harper, "The Effect of the Navigation Acts on the Thirteen Colonies" (*The Era of the American Revolution: Studies Inscribed to Everts Boutell Greene*, ed. by Richard B. Morris, New York, Columbia University Press, 1939, 1-39).

Mr. Harper is on sound ground when he excludes the Indians and the western land policies from a discussion of the mercantile system. He should have excluded the Stamp Act and the other taxation measures on the same ground. They were political and not economic measures. I could find no political writer of the time that did not admit that these Acts were basically different from the trade regulations. Sound trade policies encouraged trade, and certainly did not burden the trade of the home country nor burden a colonial trade to encourage one from a foreign country. The Sugar Act of 1764 in lowering the duties on molasses by fifty per cent was designed to raise a revenue by opening the colonial market to a competing foreign product. In 1766 when duties were lowered to one cent a gallon and imposed equally upon British and foreign molasses there was no possible resemblance to a trade act. The Stamp Act was also purely a revenue measure adopted for political purposes and laid its heaviest burdens upon the instruments of trade, whether these were used by Americans or by residents of England doing business in America. Consequently, it was anti-trade in character and a direct departure from the most cherished principles of the mercantilist system. Even the King's Friends could not defend the Act when it was attacked on this ground by the mercantile interests of England.

The Townshend Revenue Act was a most flagrant violation of sound trade policies. Taxing British products on their export to the colonies was directly contrary to any sound theory of trade legislation. The articles could all be made in America. A colonial import duty operated directly as a protective tariff to encourage production of goods here to displace similar products from England. The law was anti-trade and commercial interests on both sides of the Atlantic attacked it as dangerous to British trade. It was the opposition in England and not merely in America that forced the repeal of the tax upon articles of English production. Professor Root's general statement that the Americans nullified the Townshend Acts is not descriptive of what is in the contemporary evidence. They were never nullified, nor were they repealed before the outbreak of hostilities. Every effort along that line failed, and the more than £300,000 collected by the Customs Commissioners, with the friction set up in the process, were the most important causes of the Revolution.

Instead of the Revolution being the inevitable result of the century-old trade and navigation policies called the British

mercantile system, it was in fact the result of adopting a new programme in direct violation of the established principles of that system. American resolutions, pamphlets, and signed articles emphasized this over and over again. The First Continental Congress, in its Resolutions of October 14, 1774, begins its list of infamous measures with the Sugar Act of 1764, pointing to it as the first that departed from the old programme, and does not cite a single measure as objectionable that was a *bona fide* trade or navigation act.

There is one phase of the pre-Revolution mercantile system that has been omitted from consideration by Mr. Harper. Probably it is incapable of statistical evaluation. Any distributing system is expensive to create, but when once created it works to the mutual advantage of producers and consumers and at the same time yields profits to those who operate it and taxes to the government that protects it. Routing goods through the English distribution system was certainly not a burden in all cases. Let us take tobacco for example. It was the Thirteen Colonies' most important enumerated product. There were three centres to the distribution system, one in Scotland, and the other two in England. Together these received, processed, and distributed 105,000,000 pounds of American tobacco in 1771 and more than 101,000,000 pounds during 1775. A foreign market for this tobacco was found and systematically developed. The peculiarities of each group of customers were determined and the tobacco prepared, processed, and packaged to satisfy varying tastes. Vast capital became involved in this business, including warehouses, factories, ships, salesmen, credits, banking facilities, advertising, etc. From these centres came the capital to develop the growing industry in America, to establish new plantations, buy slaves to stock them, grow the crops, and provide adequate fleets of ships to carry the crop to market.

To assume that freeing the American tobacco grower of enumeration would at once open to him the vast market thus built up for his product is fundamentally unsound. The Revolution freed him of enumeration, but did not open for him the assumed markets, and his export trade steadily declined for more than thirty years after the Revolution. It would be easy to present plausible proof that freeing the tobacco growers from the pre-Revolutionary trade system was a serious injury to that industry and not a benefit. The export market for rice and indigo, next to tobacco the two most important enumerated products,

suffered even a worse fate. Clearly these industries lost something when they escaped from the navigation system and undertook to re-route their products directly to world markets. We need detailed studies as to just how enumeration worked. Surely the Americans were not just dumb when they failed to protest against the enumeration policy.

American and British producers and merchants were aware of the benefits to themselves that were arising from the vast organized protected markets within the Empire and the even greater markets that had been built up outside. There is a reason why leading American merchants in the important trading centres remained loyalists as did many of the great land owners. In my opinion this also helps to account for the overwhelming support given to the Americans in the earlier stages of the controversy by the mercantile interests in Great Britain.

Although the Navigation Acts were not a cause of active revolutionary agitation in America, there is a sense in which they become a cause of the Revolution. The system had been in operation more than a century. The colonies had grown rich and prosperous. Pamphleteers drafted tables of future American and English population growth which showed an American population of 130,000,000 when England would have less than 30,000,000. The American market for British goods had expanded until exports to the colonies exceeded those to the entire continent of Europe. Industry of all kinds on both sides of the Atlantic had settled into well-established grooves of trade. This trade had grown with the mercantile system and had become associated in men's minds as a result of that system. Obviously the overwhelming majority believed that any disturbance of that system would mean economic ruin to thousands. They thought of it as we do of our American capitalist economy and would fight to preserve it.

George III's personal political organization sought to shift a part of the old costs of defending America to the colonies, and at the same time to find a new source to provide for its swarms of political workers. America was to be "exploited" in the bad sense of that word, not by trade laws, but by direct political plunder, using the taxing power to supply jobs and salaries, the enforcement machinery to seize the property and fortunes of wealthy Americans, and the vast western public lands to reward the faithful. Self-government in England and America were at stake, and American personal fortunes endangered. American opposition

was in part stirred up by the political opponents of the King's Friends in England. The American opposition in turn sought aid from the mercantile interests and political opposition in the home country.

The strength of the American opposition lay in its support by the manufacturing and port cities of England and the vast English population dependent upon American trade. To undermine this support unscrupulous partisans in the King's party started the report that the American opposition was really aiming at escape from the trade and navigation system. Mostly it was a whispering programme, but it did great damage. Franklin, Burke, and others devoted their major energies from 1773 on to meeting this charge. Resolutions of American Assemblies and Congresses were directed along the same line, but the lie still made headway enough to enable Lord North and Germaine to stay in power till hostilities finally broke out. So the Navigation Acts were a cause of the Revolution, but in an entirely different sense from that current in our text-books. In his final efforts to prevent a civil war, Benjamin Franklin offered to have all of the fundamental trade and navigation laws separately re-enacted by every colonial Assembly in America, provided the king and his followers would abandon the taxation programme. Appeasement then was as futile as in 1939. The war party had its way and refused to abandon taxation and coercion.

The war was never popular in England. The great commercial interests opposed it and it was they that finally forced a peace policy favourable to the Americans. The people who profited from the American mercantile relations in England were not the enemies of America but our staunchest friends.

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THE papers that we have listened to are unusually suggestive, and are certainly among the best that have been presented to our Association on the topic of the American Revolution. However, I should like to see the programme committee arrange at some future date a symposium that would bring into contrast and comparison the British colonial system of the eighteenth century with the systems of the other colonizing European powers.

Accepting Mr. Harper's statement that the design of the English mercantile system was to exploit the colonies, I am in

agreement with Mr. Dickerson that in practice there was little exploitation, if the more sinister connotation of the term is indicated. Again, I am inclined to take the position that the plantations most seriously exploited, if the term is still to be used, were not the continental colonies but the British West Indies that have been considered as favoured in the British system by most students.

To begin with, while British policy made it possible for the tobacco and rice colonies to retain control of the markets of continental Europe, that same policy lost the continental markets, except in time of war, to the British West Indies sugar industry in favour of that of the French West Indies. The expanding sugar market in England alone saved the British sugar planters from utter ruin; but the amount of sugar the latter could sell advantageously was determined, as a rule, by the demand of the mother country. This demand likewise determined the amount of molasses—a necessary by-product of sugar production—that was available, and resulted in the reliance of North American distillers upon French rather than British molasses. The Jamaica sugar planters in the middle of the eighteenth century insisted, doubtless not without reason, that the British West Indies potentially, and this in spite of the appearance of soil exhaustion, could produce all the molasses required by the distilleries of the continental colonies. But this expansion of production could not take place in the face of a type of competition from the French West Indies that was as destructive of sound public economy as are some of the modern totalitarian trade devices. In reality, the French sugar planters were so heavily subsidized out of the royal treasury that the sale price of their products on the open market, both sugar and molasses, represented no proper relation between the actual cost of production and returns from sales. Unfortunately, the appearance of soil exhaustion in the lesser British West Indies, a restricted market for sugar and its by-product, and an oppressive weight of taxation, forced many British sugar planters—as Professor Pitman's study¹ has made clear and my own investigations have confirmed—into bankruptcy before the American Revolution and numbers of them, in spite of drastic legislation to prevent it, fled to the Dutch possessions to re-establish themselves. In other words, the assumption

¹Frank Wesley Pitman, "The Settlement and Financing of British West Indian Plantations in the Eighteenth Century" (in *Essays in Colonial History, presented to Charles McLean Andrews by his Students*, New Haven, 1931, 252-84).

that the West Indian sugar interests in and out of Parliament were powerful enough to protect the vital interests of the Islands I have not been able to substantiate—accepting the apparent but very unreal concessions gained by these in the acts of 1733 and 1739. It will be noted that Barbados and the British Leeward Islands were compelled to pay the four and one half per cent export tax on all "dead" commodities. It was calculated that this tax, rigidly collected, took from the sugar planters one-tenth of their net earnings and, moreover, went into the receipt of the royal exchequer. The manner of disbursement of this fund is of interest: it helped finance the governments of Georgia, of South Carolina, of the Bahamas, of Bermuda, of Nova Scotia, and of Newfoundland. The Virginia export tax of two shillings on every hogshead of tobacco, it may be pointed out, was treated very differently as a reserve fund.

That the older British sugar islands were much less prosperous than the better established continental colonies in the middle of the eighteenth century would seem to be indicated, moreover, by a comparison of the consumption of luxury articles. The so-called "certificated" goods, that is, commodities secured in Europe and carried to the colonies under certificates secured in Great Britain after the payment of duties, were of this class. At least one-third of all the goods brought to Virginia, to New York, and to New England from Great Britain and declared at the customs-house were brought under certificate in 1750; while Antigua's proportion of such luxury imports was but one-sixth, St. Christopher's but one-seventh, and Montserrat's but one-tenth.

Further, much has been made of the absentee West India planter who resided in England. But there are certain factors that must be considered in this connection. Among these are the forced sale of plantations to residents of England as the result of accumulated debts, and the fact that the British West Indies were not proper places in the eighteenth century for the rearing of families. Life on a typical West India sugar plantation was far different from life on a typical Virginia plantation, where in the period preceding the American Revolution most of the slaves were plantation bred and had been brought under certain civilizing influences. In contrast, in the West Indies the planter's family was exposed to contact with real jungle blacks of the fiercest and most brutal types, such as the Koromantynes, types that could survive better than other Negroes in the West Indies but which were considered by slavers and planters alike far too dangerous to

risk bringing to the continental colonies. As a result West India planters were forced into debt to secure the means to remove their wives and children from the degrading and perilous presence of such slaves, who could not, as a rule, be civilized before they died. A sugar planter had to count on replacing all his slaves every seven years.

In turning to the important point that Mr. Harper makes that eighty per cent of the commerce between England and the "thirteen" continental colonies was carried on in English rather than in colonial vessels in 1773, it is important in accepting this calculation to see what is implied in it. The figure, I am assuming, is meant to cover not only trade carried on in ships with an English registration, but also those with Scottish registration, since it is well known that in 1773 more than one-half of the tobacco of the southern colonies was carried in ships built on the Clyde and owned by wealthy Glasgow merchant princes who after 1707, to the agony of the English tobacco brokers, succeeded in appropriating the lion's share of this trade. But was this because British shipowners enjoyed any unfair advantage under the law? If they did, I am not able to find any statute among the Navigation Acts that gave them this advantage. It is, of course, well known that the planter aristocracy of the old South scorned trade as did the aristocracy of England. Had southern planters possessed the thriftiness, the foresight, and business acumen to have acquired shipping facilities and marketing agencies for their products, much of the middleman's profit would doubtless have been saved. Gentlemen, however, did not engage in trade in the eighteenth century. It is therefore not surprising, as Mr. Dickerson has made clear, that the tobacco planters became dependent upon British finance to support the tobacco industry. Nevertheless, tobacco, with good management, *was* a paying crop except when excessive amounts were thrown on the market.

As for the Northern colonies, these surely had little basis for complaint from the operation of mercantile regulations. Boston, as Professor Nettels has emphasized in his studies dealing with the latter part of the seventeenth century and the early part of the eighteenth,² had gradually become the centre of a great trading empire. By 1753, of the 496 vessels that legally cleared from this port for the West Indies, the Southern colonies, Great

²Curtis Putnam Nettels, *The Money Supply of the American Colonies, before 1720* (University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, XX, Madison, 1934); *The Roots of American Civilization: A History of American Colonial Life* (New York, 1939).

Britain, Europe, and elsewhere, 432 were built within Massachusetts Bay and 421 carried registrations from that province, according to the Port of Boston Naval Office records. Of the 496 that secured clearance papers in that year only five carried a London registration, five were registered in the English outports, and two in Scotland. Thirty-seven of the vessels that cleared were destined for some British port and twenty for some European port. By these figures it seems quite clear that the British and European trade of New England was not controlled by British interests in 1753. But the 496 vessels that cleared would seem to represent less than one-half of the Massachusetts Bay vessels that left the port, some to fish and finally in the case of many, to carry cargoes to such places as the West Indies. In fact, a study of the Boston customs-house reports for entering vessels is disconcerting. Some two hundred vessels left that did not return so far as the records would indicate. Between October, 1754, and October, 1755, only 267 vessels were entered. Of these but three were built in England and but eight carried British registration. During this period of a year only thirteen vessels entered from the West Indies, although in 1753 some one hundred and fifty vessels legally cleared for these islands. The thirteen returning vessels carried a total of only 384 hogsheads of molasses, all the product of the British West Indies. Yet the fact remains that at this period Massachusetts Bay had in operation some sixty-three distilleries which, I calculate, required a minimum of 40,000 hogsheads a year to keep running. I am assuming that these, in spite of the silence of the port records, did not lack adequate supplies of molasses.

Mr. Root makes two wise observations on which I should like to comment. The first is: "The free enterprise of people [in America] was laying the foundations of commonwealths and . . . building a unique empire of separate and distinct political parts." Again, he says that "the High Court of Parliament . . . refused to abate one jot of its sovereign will," in its dispute with the colonies. Taken together it seems to me that these two statements embody the essence of the constitutional conflict between Great Britain and the British colonies after 1689, the year of the meeting of the constituent Parliament that confirmed the Glorious Revolution of the preceding year. I am, therefore, unable to find any place in the colonial system, at least after 1698, for the effective exercise of the royal prerogative, as Mr. Root seems to feel is possible, in the face of the assumption of sovereignty by

Parliament. In taking this position I realize that I am placing myself squarely in opposition to all leading students of eighteenth-century English constitutional law and history, and it is important that the basis of this opposition should be made clear.

It is, of course, recognized that the powers of the Crown under the sovereignty of Parliament have been enormously enlarged since 1689; but this is something very different from the enlargement of the royal prerogative—authority not only unchecked by Parliament but beyond its control. The test that must be applied, I take it—to determine whether the powers of the Crown flowed after 1689 from the prerogative of the King or were employed with the express or tacit consent, but consent, nevertheless, of Parliament—was the ability of the king after 1689 to make use of the Great Seal as the symbol of his authority and his alone. Under this seal every colony without exception came into existence; under the same not only the governors of all but the charter colonies received their commissions, but both the Privy Council and the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations functioned. It is, therefore, necessary to trace the history of the Great Seal after 1689 to test the validity of the theory that while the royal prerogative could no longer function in England—except within very narrowly prescribed limits—it retained its seventeenth-century vitality in colonial affairs down to 1775.

It seems quite clear that between 1688 and 1698 there was great uncertainty in the minds of English statesmen as to whether or not the King still retained control of the Great Seal. The move made by King William in 1696 in creating the Board of Trade—in the face of a demand within and without Parliament that that body should itself provide by statute for a suitable agency for watching over trade and the plantations—illustrates the point. But this must not be viewed as an isolated incident; on the contrary it was simply an episode in the sharp contest then taking place between the King and the Parliament and involving the royal prerogative. The fact that this struggle did not concern the colonies directly has doubtless obscured its important bearing upon eighteenth-century colonial constitutional history. The issue had to do with the control of the trade to the East Indies. As early as 1690, as Mill makes clear in his *History of British India*, "the public in general at last disputed the power of a royal charter, unsupported by Parliamentary sanction, to limit the rights of one part of the people in favour of another . . ."; in 1693 the House of Commons resolved "that it was the right of English-

men to trade to the East Indies, or any part of the world, unless prohibited by act of Parliament"; in 1698 Parliament finally took the step of specifying the exact conditions under which this trade could continue (9 and 10 William III, c. 44); and in September of that year, in conformity with the terms of this statute, a charter passed the Great Seal, providing for the incorporation of the "General Society." This struggle, so far as I can determine, was decisive with respect to the ultimate control by Parliament of this seal and the instrumentalities that had previously come into existence under it. The royal proclamations issued by Anne under it relative to the colonies were in harmony with the desires of Parliament and were enforced by appropriate legislation; the charter granted to the Trustees of Georgia in 1732 had the full approval of that body which thereupon proceeded to appropriate funds for the creation of the new colony; the colonization of Nova Scotia in 1749 was really a parliamentary enterprise, although carried out under the Great Seal; finally, the charter of Massachusetts Bay under this seal was drastically altered by Parliament in 1774. In other words, it would appear that the Revolution of 1688 was only consummated in 1698 when the sovereignty of Parliament with reference to overseas affairs was at length recognized even by the King. It is not without significance that the first statutory regulation of colonial activities—outside of the navigation legislation—came in the following year, in the form of the Woollen Act, to be followed later by such acts as that regulating the value of foreign coins in the colonies, the use of the white pine timber, colonial naturalization, colonial stock company enterprises, the sale of land to aliens, the attestation of wills made in the colonies, the manufacturing of hats and iron, and the issue of colonial currency. What indeed had happened to the royal prerogative while this parliamentary interference with the King's or Queen's dominions was taking place?

It is true that the colonial leaders in the midst of the crisis leading to the Revolutionary War put forth the theory that Parliament after 1689 had in no wise fallen heir to that part of the royal prerogative which had brought all of the older colonies into existence in the seventeenth century before that year and had sustained them in their identity. But this contention, bringing with it the further contention that the colonial governments themselves had thereupon become the custodians of these great prerogative powers, in light of a sober examination of the facts, must be regarded rather as a red herring, drawn across the path

of the grave constitutional issue—arising after the collapse of New France—which involved the fundamental question of the exercise of sovereign power within the old British Empire. Certainly when the leaders selected by the colonies that were represented in the Albany Congress of 1754 came to draw up their statesman-like Plan of Union—a plan, incidentally, which, without attempting to give my reasons at this time, I suggest should not be credited to Franklin as much as to Thomas Hutchinson—it seems to have been taken for granted that only Parliament had sufficient authority to alter the constitution of the Empire and the government within the respective colonies, and therefore the appeal was made to that body. The colonials, as Mr. Root has so well stated, knew their history and knew their constitutional law. Therefore, if these men at Albany had thought that the colonies were not dependent upon the sovereign will of Parliament, why was it that they asked for a parliamentary statute to give ultimate legal validity to their proposed union of the colonies? Maitland, in dealing with the limitations placed upon the exercise of the royal prerogative by Parliament, wisely observed in his *Constitutional History*: “When we have insured by indirect methods that such powers [as those enjoyed by the Crown in the days of Henry VII] shall not be exercised without the approval of Parliament, we have considered that enough has been done—we have not cared to pass a statute saying in so many words that such powers have ceased to exist.” Through the employment, in other words, of indirect methods, the sovereignty of Parliament throughout the dominions of the Crown was established as the result of the Revolution of 1688. Therefore, if the realities of the relations of Great Britain with her colonies had been uppermost in the minds of the framers of the Declaration of Independence, their indictments would have been directed against Parliament rather than against the King. High political strategy, however, dictated emphasis upon a constitutional fiction: the abuse of the royal prerogative in the government of the American colonies.

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THE ELUSIVE MR. ELLICE

"I NEVER waste my time on Fanatics," Edward Ellice once confessed to Joseph Parkes.¹ When his letter dismissed Kossuth as "a fanatic—and fool," it provided one clue to an understanding of his own career as a transatlantic merchant and politician. His place in the century between British conquest and Canadian Confederation has been obscured by that very lack of the fanaticism which compels a man to channel all his energies toward one goal. The diversity of his interests precluded an absorption in any single phase of Anglo-Canadian history. As Carlyle observed, he was nicknamed "Bear" Ellice not "for any trace of ferocity ever seen in him," but "rather for his oiliness."² This oleaginous reputation concealed the dexterous manipulation of men and situations which he achieved under the cloak of a suave good-nature, and bore testimony to the abounding energy which enabled the "Bear" to influence subtly finance and politics on both sides of the Atlantic. When Ellice died at the close of his eightieth year, *The Times* didactically remarked concerning this "most versatile and indefatigable of men":

He was a man of the widest and most varied experiences. His unceasing activity spread itself over subjects the most different and regions the most remote. A brief retrospect of his checkered career cannot fail to interest and instruct, if it were only by showing how much can be done, contrived, and achieved by a single vigorous mind, with energy to spare for every object and sympathy for every cause which has interested the mind of England for the last eighty years.³

Ellice's confident meddling in many matters provoked a less flattering comment a few years earlier when an exasperated Honourable Emily Eden complained to the Clarendons:

I never could see why the Bear was not only allowed to assume that he advised and managed and thwarted and assisted all the distinguished men of the age, but was also the authority by which every assertion was to be met and refuted. "The Bear says the country does not like it"; "the Bear thinks Lord Grey a fool"; "the Bear says the Queen is unpopular," etc., etc.⁴

The smooth deftness and disconcerting ubiquity which friend and foe admitted, have made Edward Ellice something of an

¹Ellice Papers, Ellice to Parkes, Edinburgh, Nov. 21, 1851. The family papers were loaned through the kindness of the late Major E. C. Ellice of Invergarry. Copies of some of these are in the University of Toronto Library.

²Charles Eliot Norton (ed.), T. Carlyle, *Reminiscences* (2 vols., London, 1887), I, 206.

³*The Times*, London, Sept. 21, 1863.

⁴H. Maxwell, *Life and Letters of George William Frederick, 4th Earl of Clarendon* (2 vols., London, 1913), II, 232.

enigma in Canadian history. The basin of the St. Lawrence was one of the regions which felt the impact of his energy. Here also his son and namesake played a minor and ambiguous role. Both Edward Ellices served the Hudson's Bay Company and sat in the House of Commons. Voluminous as was his correspondence and frank as was his criticism, the elder Ellice did not commit to paper with candour and completeness his part in Canadian economic or British political life. The *Toronto Globe* hinted at the sinister connection of British influence and Canadian interest, but fugitive references in historic works to "Edward Ellice" appear to fit a multiple personality if not a number of persons. The Ellice who acted as North West Company agent in London and claimed credit for the negotiation of the merger with the Hudson's Bay Company scarcely seemed the same Ellice as the social gossip of the English memoirs whom Creevey wanted to see on his return from Paris in 1836 for "he had two very distinguished playfellows . . . with whom he almost lived—the first, Madame Lieven—the other no less than Philippe."⁵ The seignior of Beauharnois who consorted with the mercantile oligarchy of Montreal and aroused the ire of Papineau bore little obvious resemblance to the member for Coventry who fought the battle for Earl Grey's Reform Bill as whip for his Whig brother-in-law. Nevertheless, it is possible to correlate without bias the achievements and purposes of the fur-trading and land-owning financier of Canada and the Liberal "parliamentary diplomatist" of England. To explore in detail the manifold activities of Edward Ellice is to discover not only the consistent character and useful function of the man, but also to realize the unitary nature of transatlantic political and economic history. A definitive biography would be a mosaic of multi-coloured facts culled from many sources; even a brief sketch reveals no Mephistopheles dressed in Canadian furs nor a continental fop but a shrewd Scot without sinister mystery and with persuasive and personable traits.

Wealth drawn from America gave Edward Ellice leisure to participate in English political life and European drawing-room diplomacy. A "very serviceable" man, as Charles Greville commented on December 26 [1850] in his *Journal*, "clever, friendly, liberal" (but also "vain and conceited, though not offensively so"), he gloried in his "practical" approach to public questions. His assumption of office as secretary of the Treasury

⁵H. Maxwell (ed.), *The Creevey Papers, A Selection from the Correspondence and Diaries of the Late Thomas Creevey, 1768-1838* (2 vols., London, 1904), II, 309.

and secretary-at-war under Grey was symbolic of the bloodless revolution which he had helped to win. Glenquoich in the Highlands of Scotland and Beauharnois in Lower Canada might have tempted him to the side of those who derived their power from ownership of land. His marriage first to Lord Grey's sister, and later to the widow of Coke of Norfolk, gave him an assured position in English society. His self-assurance, wit, and culture (backed by wealth and political influence), took him into the salons of the Old World as his trade flowed to the Indies and continental America. It was, however, not as an eighteenth-century upper-class landowner that Ellice entered politics, but as a merchant who represented the nineteenth-century upward surge to power of the urban middle class. In an Aberdeen address he attributed whatever prosperity had come to his father and himself to "the practical education" they had received in the city. It had instilled those habits of industry, punctuality, and enterprise which enabled him to take up his father's work in the old London house of Phyn & Ellice. For forty years he represented in Parliament the industrial city of Coventry. He won his foothold in Canadian history through the fur-trade centre of Montreal. It was fitting that during the 1840 debate on the Canada Government Bill he should complain of the inadequate representation provided for the towns of the colony:

There were seventy-eight members in all, and it was proposed out of those only to give eight or nine to the towns. It should be considered that those towns were the seats of the commercial interests of the colony, and that they were increasing in magnitude owing to the altered state of Canada. The towns, moreover, were likely to furnish a better set of representatives than the country; in them there was more intelligence and more union, and their representatives were as likely to be independent as those of the country.⁶

As a City man in the British House of Commons and a member of the Grey "family compact," Ellice had an unrivalled opportunity to gain a hearing at the Colonial Office for the point of view of the Anglo-Canadian merchants. His own ideas for the colony often coincided with theirs, but as his interests extended far beyond the colonial boundaries, his outlook was more objective and cosmopolitan.

Not only was Ellice a pioneer in the movement from counting-house to cabinet, but he was also one of the few public men of Britain who had personal acquaintance with the changing life of North America. He had lived in Canada as had members of his

⁶Hansard *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd series, LIV, 757.

family before him. Two of his brothers served there in the regular army and in the Canadian Fencibles, while he sought knowledge of colonial civilian life. An absentee landlord, he occasionally visited his seigniory. Sentiment as well as the desire for efficient administration prompted a close oversight of the Ellice property in America for sixty years. His forefathers were freeholders rooted in the soil of Aberdeen county but his interests had been transplanted to the New World. As one of the "people" he was concerned "for the peace, order & security of society" as it affected the ordinary man. In a reminiscent mood he wrote to Hincks in 1854 as he discussed Canadian politics:

I think their elective much better than their nominative Council—it might have been difficult to provide a different constituency—but I should have fought for its independence during the period, for which it was elected—both of Governor, & House of Assembly. You will not doubt my prayers, for the success of the experiment, for the good of Canada. My earliest sympathies committed me with her: my interests are bound up with her—and I have no partialities, or prejudices *ex Carte*, to make me apprehensive of a Govt of the people, for the people by the people. . . .⁷

Ellice was neither the English shareholder whose chief interest in Canada lay in his fur-trade profits, nor the political theorist whose long-range study led him to advocate doctrinaire schemes of colonial reform. Although Creevey prized him for his sieve-like propensity and considered him "a real treasure" in 1837, for "no one is more mixed up with passing events in the world than he is," he was more reticent regarding personal than public affairs even in his private correspondence. Yet through this correspondence and his visits to the New World, the "Bear" developed that genuine concern for American questions which first was stimulated by his father's great stake in the St. Lawrence country, and the factual knowledge which enabled him to pose in London as a Canadian authority.

Many other New World fur traders invested their profits in land, or sought to augment their returns through rents. The Ellice ventures in the fur trade and land reveal a progressive expansion which was unique in its magnitude. The foundation of the family fortune was laid thriftily in the eighteenth century by that hard-headed emigrant from Knockleith, Alexander Ellice. With characteristic shrewdness the young Scot had led his four brothers to the Mohawk valley where in 1765 the British traders were extending westward their Indian trade. For less than a

⁷Public Archives of Canada, Hincks Letters, Ellice to Hincks, Glenquoich, Nov. 11, 1854.

thousand pounds he purchased a third interest in John Duncan's business at Schenectady.⁸ Forty years later he bequeathed to his family an estate which he valued at £430,000.⁹ A useful clannish community of interest within the widening family circle had grown with the expanding fortune. When the American Revolution split the fur-trade domain, James Ellice remained in the Mohawk valley to protect his brothers' interests, Robert settled in Montreal, and Alexander shuttled back and forth between Britain and Canada. By 1787 the Ellice network of trade relationships had consolidated in the enlarged firm of Phyn, Ellices and Inglis with its headquarters in London and its commercial ramifications in Canada and the West Indies. James Phyn, another Scottish emigrant to the Mohawk, had married a daughter of Dr. Constable (from whom Alexander Ellice obtained one parcel among his many thousand acres in New York State). Several of Phyn's nephews, notably John Richardson and John Forsyth, were associated with the Ellice business in Canada, while Alexander Ellice's sister, Catherine, married Captain Phyn of Monellie. Phyn and the Ellice brothers dropped out of the firm by 1805, but John Inglis continued in partnership with Edward Ellice until 1822. Memories of the earlier days must have lingered even longer. Ann Russell Ellice had known the post-Revolution life of Montreal, for Alexander Ellice maintained a house there, according to Joseph Frobisher in 1788,¹⁰ and her departure for London in June, 1790, Richardson lamented, would be "a sensible loss to the society" of the town.¹¹ Peter Russell tasted her London hospitality when he was making plans for his emigration. He wrote to his sister at Ipswich:

On Tuesday I dined at Mr. Ellis's, a great Canada merchant—where we had a very large party of gentlemen—Mrs. Ellis a very pleasing sensible woman—& expressed a great deal of civility with respect to you, how happy she should be to see you when you come to Town &c—advises you by all means to take a servant maid with you—as you will find it very awkward to be without one on your landing.¹²

Richardson believed he had never known "one who seemed to possess in a more exalted degree those parental affections which

⁸R. Harvey Fleming, "Phyn, Ellice and Company of Schenectady" (*University of Toronto Studies, Contributions to Economics*, IV, 1932), 9.

⁹University of Toronto Library, Copy of Alexander Ellice's will.

¹⁰Public Archives of Canada, Joseph Frobisher Letters, 75, Frobisher to Capt. John Gibson, Oct. 20, 1788.

¹¹Public Archives of Canada, Letters of John Richardson, 1789-1799, John Richardson to John Porteous, April 23, 1790.

¹²Ontario Archives, Russell Papers (1792, January to February), Peter Russell to Elizabeth Russell, Feb. 2, 1792.

do honour to our nature." In her old age she still received attention from her second son, who had proved himself the most canny of her ten children. Edward Ellice journeyed down to dine with her on Christmas Day, 1845, and Sir Denis Le Marchant wrote to Tupper in May, 1847, that Ellice had been out of town "nursing his mother who died at Bath ten days ago in her 89 year."¹³ If the terms of Alexander Ellice's will could have been followed literally, this son would have secured only a trading interest in Canada. A quarter century of family administration and "arrangement" resulted in legal control of the American lands as well as the Mark Lane stock falling into the hands of Edward Ellice. His was a successful speculation in property unsaleable during the Napoleonic War. At the same time he reunited his father's old twin interests, trade and land.

The "Bear" entered business at an auspicious time. Alexander Ellice had reached the peak of his success; as Edward Ellice testified in 1857, "My father had supplied a great part of the capital by which the whole North-west trade was conducted. . . ."¹⁴ In the busy counting-house at 27 Mark Lane, young Ellice received a practical experience to supplement his Marischal College training. Then Alexander Ellice sent the son whom he had selected as his fit heir in commerce to John Richardson in order that he might acquire at Montreal a first-hand knowledge of North American conditions. Business was combined with pleasure, and Canadian linked with American associations. En route the Ellice envoy paused in New York to visit John Jacob Astor and to meet other Americans prominent in political or commercial life. His stay was leisurely enough for Colonel Turnbull to paint his portrait and for young Ellice to inspect his father's New York estates. These included town lots at Little Falls and Alexandria whose mill-sites recalled the Ellice millers at Auchterless. Then he settled down to study Canadian life, including the fur trade in which he found engaged by 1803 "the whole of Canadian society, every person of eminence and consequence there."

If it were comparatively easy in this decade to assess the Ellice stock at Mark Lane as worth £56,000, it was more difficult to evaluate other assets. When Alexander Ellice's death in 1805 recalled Edward for a time from America, he assisted the other

¹³Ellice Papers, Richardson to Lt.-Col. Ellice, Montreal, May 27, 1810; Ellice to Marion [Ellice] Xmas Day, 1845; Ontario Archives, Tupper (F. B.) Papers, Sir Denis Le Marchant to F. B. Tupper, London, n.d. and May 17, 1847.

¹⁴House of Commons, *Report of the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company*, 1857, 5776.

executors in their effort to draw up an exact list of the real estate and debts across the Atlantic. An 1805 abstract of the father's affairs in America indicated a paper value of £126,430.14.10. Some of the debts proved uncollectable, and the lands of little immediate worth. Their total acreage in the United States, according to an estimate made in 1810, was 133,970. In addition, the far-seeing Scot had secured possession of potentially valuable property in Canada. He held more than 280,000 acres in the seignior of Beauharnois and in adjacent townships, and about 16,000 acres had been taken in satisfaction of Upper Canada debts.¹⁵ Although William was disappointed to receive the West Indian property as his inheritance, its value was better understood by Edward than by the older brother. The Canadian merchant whose firm was one of "the largest shipowners in the world" knew the importance of Demerara as a source of raw supplies (coffee, sugar, cotton, and rum) to supplement British manufactured goods in the Canadian trade. In 1803 Alexander Ellice valued his third interest in the Demerara estate at £50,000. He outlined in a letter to his agent at Georgetown a possible triangular trade with Canada and Britain; if Jamaica rum were produced for spring shipment to Canada, one ship could carry four cargoes a year.

Although we have no choice of a Market for sugar—(Bristol at present the best)—I am anxious to establish an Enhanced Demand for our Rum—We might possibly find Vent for a Small Cargo half Molasses in Newfoundland—but the More Certain Market is Canada, for which should be made Jam^a proof to save in the Cask & Duty—and if you could furnish 4 or 500 prime such in the month of March every year we would establish the trade effectually—I would not venture in it at present because I hope you may be able to sell to the Army & Navy—Such a Vessel should bring out your Stores in Decr. take the cargo to Canada return with Lumber Fish &c & home wth produce in the year, provided you could give her quick Despatch and especially necessary as she must be Armed & Navigated at great expense—and of this I entreat particular information.¹⁶

It was William's disappointment because of his inheritance in "the garden of Eden," and George Ellice's mysterious disappearance during a tropical voyage, that precipitated the "family arrangement" which made Edward Ellice seignior of Beauharnois.

This square tract of land, six leagues to the side, was situated on the south shore of the St. Lawrence above Montreal. Although only purchased on July 11, 1795 (as Alexander Ellice related in a

¹⁵Ellice Papers, various statements regarding the estate of Alexander Ellice; cf. the will.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, [A. Ellice] to Thomas Cumming, Nov. 25, 1803.

memorial among the Clifton papers dated November 1799) already in 1803 its estimated value was much higher than the quint of £1200 indicated, even if Richardson informed Captain William Ellice it was not worth the £25,000 specified in his father's will. Its land was well drained by the Chateaugay; its soil was fertile; and its timber, valuable. It had been surveyed with its districts named for members of the Ellice family. At Annfield had been started the first of the fine Ellice mills and a feeder canal to supplement the water-power of the St. Louis River. Under an American agent plans were initiated for the business-like settlement by families from the adjacent states or from Great Britain which would bring increased land values and rentals for the seignior as the newcomers pushed back the fringes of the forest.

But it was a Canada of growing tensions that awaited Ellice. His ambitious dreams in fulfilment of his father's schemes in Lower Canada were thwarted by all the handicaps possible under an anomalous and cumbersome system of land administration. The tortuous story of Beauharnois is a tangle of boundary disputes, national antagonisms, and conflict over commutation of tenures, in addition to the confusion resulting from George Ellice's death. It was significant that rebellion flared up in Beauharnois during the autumn of 1838, with the younger Edward Ellice taken prisoner, an event which was described graphically in his wife's diary and her illustrative sketches.¹⁷ In spite of all the drawbacks "Bear" Ellice experienced in his efforts to make of the wilderness he first saw in 1803 a profitable investment, he was not without a measure of success. During his visit of 1836, he wrote to his friend, Lord Durham, a glowing account of the "marvellous" country which had survived both "plunder" and "neglect." Incidentally, during the 1830's a memo among his papers valued Beauharnois at £50,000, other Canadian lands at £13,381.5, and the remaining American property at £47,966.8.

From his Canadian property Ellice derived also a concern for the timber and grain trades of Canada. He did not agree with Richardson in 1821 regarding their speculation in grain; he insisted in the House of Commons that agriculture, not timber, would be the greater source of power in the future. It was a constant refrain with him that stable settlement had made greater progress on the United States side of the boundary. This he claimed in 1828 was due to American freehold tenure and more liberal institutions, and he contrasted sales he had made of land on both sides of the border.

¹⁷Public Archives of Canada, Ellice Diary and Sketch Book.

... there is no difficulty in making sales of land, inferior in quality, and much worse situated with respect to means of communications and markets, in the adjoining part of the State of New York, at at least double the price to that which can be procured in its immediate vicinity in Canada. I have with me a return of the sales of 10,000, part of between 40,000 and 50,000 acres, adjoining those lands in Canada, but fortunately on the other side of the line, averaging 30s. per acre. . . .¹⁸

This disparity was exasperating to a man who felt in 1835 a financial stringency following his tussles with North West Company creditors and the patronage promises of the Reform Bill campaign. It seemed that his future income would "depend upon remittances from American property." He warned his son (who had come to Canada in 1838 ostensibly as a secretary to Lord Durham, though without salary) that in dealing with the seignior agent he "must examine rigidly his money matters" to ensure the proper seignior returns. The underlying basic keynote of all this summer's letters seemed to be "politics should never be allowed to interfere with business."¹⁹ When Durham returned to prepare his report for Parliament, the younger Ellice presented his returns to the "Bear." Doubtless his mission played a part in the puzzling, if profitable, matter of the sale of the Canadian property to Kingscote and his North American Colonial Association of Ireland for £150,000 and the fat "oyster" of commission for E. G. Wakefield. The new managers published an enthusiastic description of the Ellice lands, and despatched Eden Colville to act as their agent in Canada.²⁰ When the purchasers were unable to complete the terms of their agreement, once more the old seignior returned to the colony he had first visited fifty-five years before. His long report to Russell, the youngest of Alexander Ellice's sons, is the last personal survey of the family stake in Canadian soil. In it he tried also to compute a fair offer to the Association.

¹⁸*Report from the Committee on the Civil Government of Canada, 1828*, Examination of Edward Ellice (reprinted by Canadian government, Quebec, 1829).

¹⁹Ellice Papers, memo "the Right Honble Edw^d Ellice 30th April 1835"; Edward Ellice to Edward Ellice, Aug. 9, 1838; same to same, Aug. 18, 1838.

²⁰*Ibid.*, memo of agreement between Edward Ellice and Henry Kingscote, Feb. 5, 1839; Ellice to Parkes, Oct. 9 [1841]; Public Archives of Canada, pamphlet 1802, *Colonization of the County of Beauharnois: On the South Bank of the St. Lawrence, near the City of Montreal, and the Junction of Lower and Upper Canada with the State of New York: Together with Terms and Conditions of Sale of an Extensive Territory, and Divers Valuable Properties in the Said County of Beauharnois and the Township of Clifton, including Lands Reserved for Villages and Towns, Numerous Houses, Farm-buildings, Mills, and Choice Farming Stock &c &c* (London, published for the North American Colonial Association of Ireland, 1840).

It will yield more in my hands or in Edward's, from certain hereditary associations, and long connection with the people, than in those of other persons—and it is essential to have this consideration in view, in the loose state of opinion, which prevails in this country, with regard to the rights of large landed proprietors—My notion is, really worth from £90,000 to £100,000cy.—I make it £93,850—on a calculation—taking the whole assets, land rents, villages, mills and houses and buildings to be worth on paper £183,540 for which no man will give more than 10/ in the £.²¹

He estimated that the annual upkeep, including subscriptions for churches, roads, and schools in addition to the agency expenses, amounted to £5,000. Although this meant that the net profit was negligible, the "Bear" stated he would remain in charge "on no other terms, not from desire to obtain credit with the people but as the best policy."

Although the "misdirections" of Edward Ellice brought protests against the appointment of his son in 1838, and the association with Wakefield stirred up further resentment against the "Beauharnois Job," Lord Durham cited Ellice as one of the progressive landowners in Lower Canada.²² The detailed story of the "Bear" and his Canadian property forms a valuable illustration of the complicated land administration in the colony.

The part played by the Ellices in the development of the fur trade has usually received more attention than their interest in land. In the chain of organization from the Upper Country through Montreal to London, Phyn and Ellice gradually assumed in the late eighteenth century a position in England as important as that of McTavish, Frobisher and Company in Canada. The transfer of the firm headquarters to Britain was accompanied by improved business methods. The "solid business" of the house was done in London, although in Canada partners sought also to increase their profits by obtaining swifter means of communication, by improving credit facilities, and by engaging in the westward search for fur. The London merchants were not at first members of the Canadian company, but men who contracted for the trading supplies. As Phyn, Ellice and Inglis gained a practical monopoly of the supply contracts, Edward Ellice did not exaggerate the importance of his father's firm as capitalists in the trade.

When he reached Montreal in 1803, the Canadian trade was

²¹Ellice Papers, Ellice to Russell [Ellice], Beauharnois, Aug. 4, 1858.

²²Public Archives of Canada, Durham Papers, I, 495, "Veritas" to Durham, London, April 23 [1838]; the *Weekly Pilot* (Montreal), July 13, 1844, *The Times*, May 7, 1844, and *The Morning Chronicle*, May 24, discuss the "allegations and insinuations" in connection with the Colonial Association.

rent in suicidal rivalry, while both the XY and NW companies were subjected to the pincer thrust of Americans to the south and English in the north. As the Mark Lane house supplied Forsyth, Richardson and Company with goods as well as filling contracts for the North West Company, it was concerned for the profitable returns of both Canadian groups. Indeed it had a larger vision than a new North West Company would satisfy. Six decades later Edward Ellice saw in the American Civil War the last stroke in the destruction of the fur-trader's dream of reversing the work of 1783 and building out of the northern states and Canada "a confederation" of the St. Lawrence countries.²³ In 1803 he sought to carry out unity within the trade by offering to buy out the Hudson's Bay Company for £103,000.²⁴ Although he failed then to bring the English company within the Canadian orbit, success came in 1821, when in co-operation with the McGillivrays he effected an amalgamation of the North West Company's trade with that of the Bay.

Ellice had to express views with regard to the policy and history of the trade between 1803 and 1821, when he became an expert witness for the Hudson's Bay Company during the parliamentary investigation of 1857. Facing a ticklish situation, he took refuge in an oversimplification of the facts regarding the North West Company's last fight for western fur. His silences were as significant as his utterances. His own part in the conflict, as London agent and partner in the Mackenzie group, who owned a quarter of the Canadian shares, was behind the scenes. He tried to outwit Selkirk in his purchase of stock, and was the spokesman for the Canadian interests at the General Court meeting in 1811 which granted to the colonizer an Assiniboia lying athwart the Nor'Westers' route to the west. He was one of the three who met on June 1, 1811, to accept the challenge of this grant and recommend to the Canadians adequate preparation "for a year of trial."²⁵ Simon McGillivray, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, and Edward Ellice thus became jointly responsible with the partners in Canada for the events in the "opposition," although theirs was the more discreet function of politics and propaganda. It is little wonder that the details of this struggle and the complicated negotiations with Colville and Bathurst were slurred over in Ellice's 1857 testimony.

²³Ellice Papers, Ellice to Parkes, Dec. 28, 1861.

²⁴*Report of the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, 1857*, 5969.

²⁵Public Archives of Canada, Series Q, vol. 153-3, 611 ff., S. McGillivray to McTavish, McGillivrays and Company, London, June 1, 1811.

A letter in 1821 from John Richardson to Ellice gives a clearer idea of what went on behind the scenes. In it Richardson broke his silence as he accepted the agreement made in London, and at the same time paid tribute to his old friend's valiant services:

In respect to the negotiation and arrangements with the H. B. Co. none can be more disposed than I to give you full credit for your zeal and ability therein, and particularly in getting the Act of Parl^t passed—I confess however that the sacrifice made of A. McDonell & Black, stuck much in my throat as a sad remuneration for zeal in the performance of what they considered their duty, and perhaps but for that zeal, no negotiation would have been listened to, as also that as a conciliatory step it was all on one side—

However from what you write and S. M'Gy. says it was an indispensable *qua non*, and accordingly you are fully justified in submitting to it. . . .

As to the arrangement in what respects myself, I can only say that you and I can never have any serious difference upon pecuniary matters—Your experienced friendship would be sufficient even if you had never expressed a desire to alter my share if not satisfactory. . . .

Richardson would accept no favour in which John Forsyth did not share, and prefaced his statement of the just division of the shares of Sir Alexander MacKenzie and Company between Inglis, Ellice and Company and Forsyth, Richardson and Company with a summary of his own part in the struggle with Selkirk.

. . . after premising that my zeal and merits although in point of talent not equal to yours I am persuaded prevented the Provl. Govt. from acting decisively upon Lord S'. misrepresentations, had I not assiduously counteracted them by word and by writing—Had they done so, ruin to the NWCo. must have ensued—His Lordship & the H.B.Co. would have been triumphant, and no negotiation could have ever taken place—I was personally the author of the opposition to the NWCo. which has led to a participation in the Trade with the H.B.Co. as settled by you and Mr. S. M'Gy.—I am not fond of talking of self, but it is unavoidable in the present case—²⁶

The exact evaluation of the Canadians' part in the trade after 1821 is a delicate task. Of his own share Ellice had little to say; but perhaps the best indication of his own important place in the 1821 and subsequent agreements was the fact that he alone among the Canadians emerged from the fray as a man of wealth and influence in the new Hudson's Bay Company. He was succeeded on the Committee by his son. Their reward for committee work and testimony in 1857 was the appointment of the younger Ellice as deputy-governor of the Company in 1858. The "Bear" was then the sole survivor of the old Canadian leaders, as he wrote to John MacDonald of Garth during the inquiry:

²⁶Ellice Papers, Richardson to Ellice, Montreal, Oct. 25, 1821.

But I am the only person left, of those who could have protected the interests of your old associates the Factors and Traders in the interior, and I have felt it my duty to stand by them, both from old associations and the rightful claim they had in any assistance I could give them. . . .

When Edward Ellice returned from Canada to make his permanent home in Britain, Byron congratulated him on his marriage to Lord Grey's sister, and slyly taunted him with becoming "a bitter politician." Canadians who suspected his influence at the Colonial Office (though during the fur struggle it was the Tory under-secretary with whom he kept in touch) might have wondered at his election to the House of Commons in 1818 just before he made his own attempt to negotiate with Selkirk. Whether Ellice is regarded as the colonial in English politics, or as the Old Country politician with large interests in Canada, his place in nineteenth-century political life has significance for Anglo-Canadian history.

He was trained in an atmosphere of mercantile opportunism. His father regarded government as a usable handmaid to commerce, a view which he made clear in a letter seeking relief from government interference with his forwarding trade during the American Revolution. Through Mr. Lester he asked for passes enabling his four boatloads of military stores and thirty-three of civilian supplies to travel above Montreal "as everything now appears quiet."

Fully sensible that the Commander in Chief, next to the safety of the province, can have no more pleasant wish, than to forward its Commercial Interest, which constitutes a part of that great support of the British Nation, we are well convinced that His Excellency must have had some good reason for stopping in some measure the Trade to the Upper Country & on that Accot. we have till now defrd troubling him on that head. . . .²⁷

This close relation of business and politics continues unbroken in the Ellice family activities after the American Revolution. Phyn and Ellice waited upon Mr. Hartley in 1783 to secure a promise that in the peace treaty with the Americans everything would be done "with respect to the security of our Property in the Indian Country & to satisfie the Indians."²⁸ Their connections in trade were "all in the New Government," Thomas Forsyth reported to Peter Russell in 1792. Richardson kept Alexander Ellice informed concerning the situation in Lower Canada; in London the merchants of the Canada trade continued their lobby.

²⁷Public Archives of Canada, Haldimand Papers, B 73, Alex. Ellice to Capt. Mathews, Montreal, May 18, 1780.

²⁸*Ibid.*, Phyn and Ellice to Robert Ellice, London, April 9, 1783.

Just as Phyn and Ellice in 1787 recruited new partners for the period when the North West Company would require larger supplies, so Inglis and Ellice re-organized in the year that formal "opposition" to the Bay traders was sanctioned. Robert Haddow of Glasgow and James Chapman of Liverpool entered the partnership in 1811, but the political work of the firm remained in the hands of the senior partners. It would be interesting to know how many of the memorials to the British Government regarding the Canada trade really emanated from Mark Lane. Certainly Ellice was concerned in those which sought to preserve Indian friendship, territorial integrity, and freedom of action in the areas the North West Company regarded as their own. His formal entry into English politics gave the Canadians a spokesman in London who had long been in close association with John Richardson in Montreal.

Even as agreements were being ratified with the English chartered company, Ellice was at work on another project dear to the heart of mercantile Montreal, the union of Upper and Lower Canada. The merchants in 1821 faced not only the diversion of their far western trade to Hudson Bay, but also the political problems of their economic relations with Upper Canada and of the racial tensions within Lower Canada. When Richardson discussed the fur-trade adjustments, he added a word of praise for Ellice's "exertions about the Timber & Corn Trades of these Provinces." Forsyth, Richardson and Company would be "in a miserable plight with the Upper Canada trade, if exclusion from the British Market be continued as to wheat & flour." At the same time, he complained, "Our House of Assembly has every disposition to engross all the powers of the government," and assured Ellice that "the secret about the Bill you speak of has as yet been well kept." Re-union of the colonies seemed a feasible solution for both the economic and political impasse, as Ellice urged upon the British ministry. When the Union Bill reached its second reading on July 18, 1822, he was its most enthusiastic advocate. He presented to the House of Commons a petition in its favour from the London merchants in the Canada trade, and protested against the decision to hold over the Bill until the following year. When Papineau came to London in 1823 for the lobby against the re-introduction of its political clauses, the French-Canadian leader was convinced that Ellice was his real adversary; meanwhile the member for Coventry was reporting to Canada "that the question will be brought forward and carried,

as ministers are more and more convinced of the policy and propriety of it—"²⁹ The scheme proved abortive, leaving behind it a sense of frustration among the Anglo-Canadian merchants, and a legacy of racial antipathy among the French Reformers. With Beauharnois affairs also to the fore, Ellice became for Papineau a symbol of all the anglicizing influences in Canada. This was scarcely fair to the English parliamentarian who never expressed his views on the racial issue with the vigour of Canadian partisans, but sought to state the problem objectively, both in his public testimony before the 1828 Committee on the Civil Government of Canada and in his 1838 private correspondence with Lafontaine and his own son. Nevertheless his basic conviction was that "sooner or later they [the French] must form part of the great American and English family."³⁰

If Ellice's political activity in economic matters was coloured by the Ellice stakes in Canadian fur and land, his theories of colonial administration were influenced by his practical experience of British government and his more evanescent contacts with continental conditions. Therefore, some knowledge of his European background is essential to a full understanding of the Ellice place in Canadian political history, and, indeed, to a true estimate of his action in any specific Canadian situation. He never formulated his political philosophy, but an analysis of his views upon European events as well as his contacts with the economic life of Canada reveals him to be a cosmopolitan liberal. Such a study of his extensive correspondence and long public life is beyond the scope of the present article, but an inkling of his position in the Old World should complement a sketch of some of his New World activities.

A few years of the "treadwheel" of office (1830-2 as Joint Secretary of the Treasury, and 1833-4 as Secretary at War) was preceded by a long period of professed radicalism when the Tories were in the saddle, and succeeded by a longer one of moderate liberalism when the Whigs were in control. In 1819 he took Hobhouse to task for his *mouvement* attack on Grey, who had devoted his life to the Reform cause; in 1850 he defended his own stand

²⁹Hansard, new series, George IV, VII, 1706-12, 1730; Public Archives of Canada, Baby Papers, Papineau to L. Guy, London, March 6, 1823; Ontario Archives, Strachan Papers, 1823, Richardson to Dr. Strachan, Montreal, April 14, 1823.

³⁰House of Commons, *Report of the Select Committee*. . . 1828, Examination of Edward Ellice; cf. Public Archives of Canada, Lafontaine Papers, Ellice-Lafontaine correspondence (copies of the 1838 letters are also in the Durham Papers). The "Bear" on August 18 advised his son that he would "much rather for our French affairs trust Mr. Lafontaine who was here. He is a very respectable man—altho' very French."

against absolutism, for its revival in Europe under English encouragement would "be likely to lead to the directly opposite result; & bring upon us the dangers of red republicanism."³¹ Indirectly his long correspondence with Thiers and Princess Lieven, neither of whom wasted their time on stupid or insignificant men, was a tribute to his personality and to his influence in England. There he was concerned that an adequate party organization should keep in office men who would apply practicable principles of government. As he once wrote to Parkes, "I care less for any object than that we should have the liberals on the Govt. side of the House, and the Tories on the opposition benches."³² In holding the Grey party together, Charles Wood considered Ellice "indispensable" both for his personal popularity and his organizing efficiency.³³ After Ellice's retirement from the Treasury, Poulett Thomson regretted his absence from the Howick councils for Grey's colleagues in 1832 "seemed to live in a sort of fools' paradise" when they supposed that "things can go on as they are" or "that tinkering will do for the old crazy kettle of our institutions."³⁴ Consistently in all his public life, Ellice followed the policy which he avowed in a speech delivered to the reformed Commons:

... let the consequences be what they might, neither to be deterred from those reforms which he conceived to be demanded by the public good, nor to be plunged into an extravagant and premature course which must only end in failure; but to stand between the extremes of either party, and pursue the course which his own judgment dictated. . . .³⁵

If Ellice has been an enigma in Canadian history, it has been because his popular identification with Canadian conservatism has seemed to conflict with his English liberalism, even as the impact of New World commerce upon his public life in Europe eluded the grasp of contemporary English writers.

DOROTHY E. T. LONG

Kirkland Lake.

³¹Ellice Papers, Ellice to Hobhouse, New Street, Feb. 13, 1819; Ellice to —, Glenquoich, Nov. 3, 1850.

³²*Ibid.*, Ellice to Parkes, Brocket, Sunday, Dec., 1852.

³³G. M. Trevelyan, *Lord Grey of the Reform Bill, Being the Life of Charles, Second Earl Grey* (London, 1920), 384; Ellice Papers, C. Wood to Ellice, Sept. 11, 1832; cf. Denis Le Marchant, *Memoir of John Charles, Viscount Althorp, third Earl of Spencer* (London, 1876), 319.

³⁴Ellice Papers, Poulett Thomson to Ellice, Oct. 30, 1832; Ellice-Grey Letters, Nov., 1832.

³⁵Hansard, 3rd series, XXIV, 764.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

FOUR EARLY LETTERS OF EGERTON RYERSON

AFTER the death of Egerton Ryerson in 1882 a large body of personal correspondence, together with many confidential letters on public affairs, came into the hands of Dr. John George Hodgins. These letters, some two thousand in all, were used in the preparation of *The Story of My Life* (Toronto, 1883), which is less an autobiography of Ryerson than a compilation by Hodgins. As scored and edited by Hodgins's pencil they were preserved in the vaults of Victoria College, of which Ryerson was the first Principal and Hodgins an early graduate. In December, 1941, the contents of one of the bundles in which these letters had been tied was discovered in the library of Victoria College. The type of folder in which the letters had been placed, and a private letter included, served to indicate that the letters had been taken from the *corpus* by Chancellor Burwash in the preparation of his brief life of Ryerson for the Makers of Canada series (1901). It may perhaps be inferred that the task of arranging and reading the original letters appeared formidable (the calendar runs to some 140,000 words), and that this was the only bundle sequestered.

It contained twenty-four letters, four of 1824, four of 1825, five of 1826, four of 1827, three of 1828, two of 1835, one of 1836, and one of 1842. The first four of these—the earliest of the extant Ryerson correspondence—are here reproduced in full. Two short extracts, one from the first and one from the third, appear in chapter II of *The Story of My Life* as from his diary.¹ Ryerson may have copied from the letters into the diary, or Hodgins, wishing to quote these sentences, and not the letters as a whole with their occasional frivolity, may have thought it unnecessary to make a nice distinction between diary and letters. This latter explanation is supported by the use on these two letters of Hodgins's irreverent pencil.

The complete letters may be considered worth preserving both as the earliest in this important body of correspondence, and as indicating the kind of vigorous native that Canada could produce in the first quarter of the nineteenth century under the distracting

¹The discovery of these letters revives the hope that the diary may still be found.

influences of an Anglican father basking in the smiles of the Compact, and a Methodist mother with two sons already itinerant preachers and three more on the way. All the letters were addressed to the oldest brother George (1791-1882), who resided near his father's home at Vittoria. When serving under his father as a Lieutenant in the War of 1812, he had been wounded in the face. Later he had graduated from the Union College at Schenectady, N.Y. If at this time he had already succeeded his brother-in-law, James Mitchell, as master of the London District (Grammar) School situated at Vittoria, he was restless in his work, since he contested a seat in the Legislature in 1824. For years he had been interested in the Indians, and after joining the Methodists in 1825 he became a missionary on the reserve at the Credit River. In 1828 and again in 1831, he was the bearer of petitions from the Canadian Reformers to the British Parliament. His letters from London, where he was also interested in a protracted suit in chancery concerning his wife's mother's estate, reveal him as a man of keen discernment and something of a statesman; but he was caught up in the Irvingite movement, and devoted the rest of his long life to religion and the founding in time of the Catholic Apostolic Church on Gould St., Toronto.

Now, in August, 1824, Egerton had just left home to study with John Law at the Gore District (Grammar) School at Hamilton. This was his second home-leaving. On the first occasion it was his father's ultimatum to choose between his home and the Methodists that had sent him as usher to the London District School. Two years later his father had urged him to return to the neglected farm. After working the farm for a year, having attained his majority and his father's approval, he is resuming his education, with the profession of law in mind.

C. B. SISSONS

Victoria College.

Thursday Eve., August 12, 1824

My Dr. Brother

I arrived here the day after I left home. Mr. Law received me with all the affection & kindness of a sincere & disinterested friend. Even without requesting it, he told me that "his library was at my service: that he did not wish me to join any class, but to read by my self, that he might pay every attention and give every assistance in his power." Indeed he answers my highest expectations. Mr. Law does not commence school till next week, as his vacation is not yet

over. I board with Mr. Aikman² at 12 S Ny.C.³ per week including my washing. He is one of the most respectable men in this vicinity. His family consists of himself, his wife, one daughter, & two hired lads. I have a room entirely to myself, & every other necessary convenience. I shall be altogether retired, only at the Court of King's Bench. The Chief Justice & the Atty. General⁴ will put up here, which will make a very agreeable change for a few days. I will be much obliged to you for eight dollars by the first of next month, to pay John⁵ for my clothes, as he will pass this way at that time to the States, & says that he must by all means have it as he does not know what may befall him there. I staid with William⁶ the second night after I left home. He & his family were well. The preachers have unanimously agreed to oppose the illegal measures of the factious party in the lower part of the Province. Mr. Rion⁷ & Mr. Herman treated William, not only in the most unchristian, but in the most blackguard manner, previous to Mr. Herman's coming to Vittoria the last time. But Wm. with his usual independence & ability treated their threats with just contempt, gave incontrovertible answers to their arguments, exposed and overthrew their black designs. Mr. Rion & his partisans have been guilty of the darkest proceedings that I ever knew by men professing godliness. To pursue my studies with indefatigable industry and ardent zeal, that you may never regret the assistance you give me, & that I may never mourn the loss of my precious time, is unshaken & prayerful determination of

Your affectionate

EGERTON

[The letter is continued with a message to Miss Rolph and Mrs. Ryerson.⁸]

My very Dear friends

Every occurrence since I left home has given me the highest satisfaction. The first night that I left home I was most affectionately entertained at Dr.

²John Aikman, owner of 130 acres on the second concession of Barton, and the first waggon-maker of Hamilton. The two lads may have been apprentices and as such regarded as members of the family.

³The (New) York shilling was worth 12½ cents. Merchants must have had an interesting time with the currency of this period, including not only the dollar and the pound sterling, but also Halifax and New York currencies, worth, respectively, four-fifths and one-half sterling.

⁴William Dummer Powell (1755-1834), and John Beverley Robinson (1791-1863).

⁵John (Bostwick) Ryerson (1800-1878), fourth son of Col. Joseph Ryerson and Mehetabel Stickney, his wife. He was a Methodist itinerant, now stationed at Perth. His writing is bad and his spelling worse, but his letters are of great interest and value. Indeed Egerton describes him in a letter to Sir Charles Metcalfe in 1844 as one "whom I have found for many years the most cool and accurate judge of the state of the public mind of any man whom I have ever known in Canada."

⁶(Joseph) William Ryerson (1797-1872), the third son, was educated not at Union, but as he aptly put it "in the College of Buck and Bright." Yet he was regarded as the greatest orator among the Methodists, was twice President of Conference, and a member of the Legislature from 1861-1863.

⁷Elder Henry Ryan, the fomenter of the ephemeral Ryanite schism.

⁸George Ryerson had married Sarah, sixth daughter of Dr. Thomas Rolph and Frances Petty who at the age of sixteen had eloped with him, when a ward in chancery. The Miss Rolph was probably Amelia (born 1801) who died unmarried. Or was it Hester (born 1800) or young Helen (born 1807)?

Throckmorton's.⁹ The next day by invitation I dined with Mr. Loder¹⁰ at Ancaster where I received every possible attention. In the afternoon I met with Mr. Law at Mr. G. Hamilton's.¹¹ He received me in a manner truly gratifying. Mr. Hamilton told me "that he would be very happy to receive my visits at all times." I called at Mr. Ferguson's this afternoon. I found the old gentleman bare-foot, and uniformly in other respects. I did not get a squint at the young ladies. I suppose they thought that natures shoes (which I observed from the road) were not good enough to appear in. Foolish things! It happened not to be a hay day, or no doubt I would have got a satisfactory view of them. What a sad disappointment! But never mind, they wanted me to come as often as I could; so that I shall yet expose my self to the captiva[ting] charms of those female goddesses. The old gentleman is quite feeble and ailing. The old lady was very unwell with a severe cold. She is a woman of *good sense*; & they seem *very benevolent & kind*. But I could swear that the old woman wears the breeches. The whole family bear a most excellent character. Mrs. G. Salmon is said to have been an industrious, kind, good girl. But it would have been much to their credit to have been married a few months sooner, as some still doubt their marriage.¹²—Permit me to remind you that I am speaking confidentially.—I have already been congratulated for my good fortune in obtaining my present place of residence, by one or two of the clerks and merchants with many others. The young lady, where I reside is said to be far preferable both in beauty & acquirements to any in the vicinity of Hamilton. How tempting! Having but a brother & sister, & they both married! Having a rich father! The favourite daughter! Possessing virtue & piety! Ah me!—But Milton says "man shall be free till he inthrals himself." I am a real friend of liberty; & I think it is the worst kind of slavery to have a loving wife with an empty stomach. I hope you will write by the first post. Please write the news of the day. In short, write the whole truth whatever it be, & you will oblige & gratify

Yours in the purest bonds of affection

EGERTON

P.S. Give my love to my dear mother. My respects to Mrs. Salmon. Tell Mrs. G. Salmon that I called at her father's; that they were not very well; that they were extremely anxious to see her. I am told that they are a very loving family among themselves. My empty head is not quite empty yet, but I can not swell my jargon to any greater length for want of room. The will must be taken for the deed & good measure paid in return.

E.

⁹Caniff reports that Mr. Samuel Throckmorton of Norwich, London District, was granted his certificate in 1820, the year after the creation of the Medical Board in Upper Canada.

¹⁰Job Lodor was already a great man in the district and owned the mills at Ancaster. He was following business as it developed north and east, from Long Point to Waterford, to Ancaster, and finally with the Desjardins canal to Dundas and Hamilton.

¹¹George Hamilton, founder of the city, was now member of the Legislature for Wentworth. Evidently Col. Joseph Ryerson's son was not without influential connections (which he exhibits to the ladies).

¹²Since only clergymen of the Church of England and ministers of the Kirk were allowed to perform the marriage ceremony, and they were rare, the solemnizing of marriage in Upper Canada was frequently *post eventum*.

Tuesday, August 24th

My Dear Brother

I am in good health. I shall finish the first book of the Georgics to day, which is the seventh day since I commenced them. I expect to finish them in four weeks from the time I began. My memory improves. I feel much encouraged. My labour is uniform and constant from the dawn of day untill near eleven in the evening. I have not a moment to play on the flute.¹³ I wish you to send a Greek Grammar the *first opportunity*; for there is none to be had here & Mr. Law thinks it is best to begin Greek as soon as I can get a grammar. I have not time to write another word. Give my sincere love to all. Kiss for me the blessed little babe, & you will gratify yours

affectionately

EGERTON

N.B. Scribite quidque noscere quam citissime poteris.¹⁴

P.S. I wrote last week by Mr. Tinbroke who overtook me when I was going to the Post Office. I expect you have received it¹⁵ and therefore I repeat nothing that was in my former.

E.

September 15, 1824

My Dr. Brother

I am much disappoint[ed] in not receiving a letter from [you]. I fully expected to receive one last evening by Post. I heard by Mr. Askin that you and Mrs. Ryerson were both [] and am very anxious to hear from you. If you and Mrs. R. were so sick that you could not write I dont think it an excuse for Miss Rolph for not dropping me a line, unless she is as parsimonious of her writing as she is of herself; if so, that unfolds the mystery at once & satisfies every enquiry. It would be superfluous for me to tell you that the letter I received from you gave me unspeakable pleasure & excited in my heart those fresh emotions of fraternal affection which tears alone could express. Your fears, with respect to my injuring my health a[re] quite groundless & unnecessary. For I must confess that I dont possess half that application & burning zeal in these all important pursuits that I ought to have. For who can estimate the value of a liberal education? Who can sufficiently prize that in which all the powers of the human mind can expand to their utmost & astonishing extent? What industry can outreach the worth of that knowledge, by which we can travel back to the remotest ages & live the lives of all antiquity? Nay, who can set bounds to the value of those attainments, by which we can, as it were fly from world to world and gaze on all the glories of creation; by which we can glide down the stream of time, & penetrate the unorganized regions of uncreated futurity. My heart burns while I write. But although literature presents the highest objects to which the most ambitious & refined mind can possibly grasp, yet I consider health, in comparison with other temporal enjoyments, the most bountiful & highest gift of Heaven. And certainly it would be the most eggregious folly & madness, to sacrifice that for literary attainments, without which I never could enjoy them.

¹³A permanent divorce, apparently. Nowhere else is the flute mentioned; but music was given a prominent place in his school system.

¹⁴Instruction in the Indirect Question appears to have been weak at the London District School.

¹⁵If so, the letter has not been preserved. Ryerson saved 4½d., the cost of this letter, but apparently at the cost of delivery.

So that you may hush all your fears to entire forgetfulness on that ground. I have read three books of the Georgics & three odes of Horace. But this las[t] week I have read scarcely any, as I have had great deal of company & there has been no school. But I commence to day again with all my might. The Atty. General stops at Mr. A. during court.¹⁶ I find him very agreeable. He conversed with me more than an hour last night in the most sociable, open manner possible. Messrs. Rolphs¹⁷ seem to be very friendly. Mr. Mitchell has been here for several days. I dont think that he has done me any good. Though Satan himself should not be hung before he is proved guilty. Mr. G. Salmon has shown every mark of sincere friendship that I could ask. Remember him for my sake; for there is none that I esteem more highly. He remarked to me, that if Dr. Stewart came out Bishop of this Province (as he had heard) he had no doubt but that I would be provided for.¹⁸ I have not time to write any thing that has been done at court, as I have four letters to write this morning. I was over to the beach on Monday with Messrs. G. & W. Salmon to see the canal. They have thrown out an immense quantity of sand; but have not got their machinery in operation yet, so that there is nothing at present worth seeing. The principal proprietor & manager died day before yesterday. He is a very great loss to them.

I was disappointed in not receiving any money as I ought to have sent to York to the person who advanced it to John, but have [seal]. I have been nearly destitute during [seal]. I spent the greatest part of what I brought with me on the road, & poor Mr. R. shoes & gloves.¹⁹ But for what other articles I have wanted I have got them on credit till I return home. Remember me to all.

Yours affectionately,

EGERTON

October 12, 1824

My Dr Brother

I received your kind & affectionate letter this day week, but was unable to read it for some time. I have had an attack of the Fever²⁰ which confined me to my bed all last week. From monday till friday I did not sit up an hour; but I have quite recovered, only I am very weak. I shall resume my studies again to day. Doctor Tiffney²¹ visited me twice. I received every mark of kindness &

¹⁶The rhetorical flourish of this letter is probably less due to any effect of conversing with John Beverley Robinson (whose prose is simplicity itself) than to the fact that the young student was beginning to feel his literary oats.

¹⁷Dr. John Rolph (1793-1870) and his brother George of Dundas, who as lawyers would be present at the sessions. The Rolphs were neighbours of the Ryersons in Norfolk, and on the death of John Rolph, Ryerson acknowledged his great indebtedness to the inspiration received in his youth from this remarkable man.

¹⁸He did succeed Bishop Mountain in 1826. This sentence has a bearing on the obstinate fiction (based on a confusion with George) that Egerton was a rejected applicant for Holy Orders (*Egerton Ryerson, His Life and Letters*, by C. B. Sissons, Toronto, 1937, I, 12-15).

¹⁹Ryerson was always generous, to a fault.

²⁰Here we have the first warnings of the illness of ten weeks which attacked him late in November, turning him from worldliness and marriage to the privations of the saddle-bag preacher.

²¹Dr. Oliver Tiffany, Sr. (died 1835), or Jr. (died 1851). The falls which bear their name were on their property.

affection from the family²² with whom I reside that they could possibly show. I feel much afflicted to hear that mother is so very ill. I hope you will write the returning Post. I do heartily acquiesce with Mrs. Ryerson in her solicitations that you would go to Kingston. I hope you will not be obstinate. For I think I would almost risk my fortune in a lottery for thirty or forty dollars & especially if I had a probability in my favour. I think that you had better prepare as soon as you can conveniently before the weather becomes cold & blustering. Probably it would be best to get a light waggon & come here & if you wish I will go with you to Niagara & bring the waggon back & so return immediately home. It feels very cold this morning. I think there is no time to be lost. I feel truly thankful to you for the tender concern & warm interest for me which you express in your letter. I can assure you that I feel equally anxious to make you every return I am able. But all I can do at present towards it is, carefully to listen to, and diligently to follow your advice, which I will endeavour to do, & for which I return you my sincere thanks. Mrs. Ryerson's concern & friendship for me I hope will not be soon forgotten. Remember me to her, & kiss dear little Francis²³ for me. It brings tears whenever I think of the dear little creature. Tell my dear mother that I share with her in her afflictions, that I am daily more forcibly convinced that every earthly comfort & advantage are transient & unsatisfactory, that this is not our home but that our highest happiness amidst these fluctuating scenes is to insure the favour & protection of him, who alone can raise us above afflictions & calamities with which we are encompassed. If I had time I would write much more. But Mr. Aikman is now waiting to carry the letter to the Post Office. I wish you to inform me when you will come down. I should have been reading Greek now if I had not been sick. But I expect to commence next week. Mr. G. Salmon has shown himself very affectionate & kind in my short illness. The money which you sent must have miscarried. I wish to be remembered to Miss Rolph, to Col. & Mrs. Salmon & all my own family,

Yours affectionately,

EGERTON

²²Not least of all, it may be supposed, from the daughter Hannah. On November 25, he confides to his diary, "The comforts and tranquility of domestic happiness attract my attention." After some vicissitudes, they were married in September, 1828, and travelled twenty miles to get a Presbyterian minister to perform the ceremony.

²³The two children by George Ryerson's first marriage were named, symmetrically, Frances for her mother and Joseph for his father. When Mrs. Ryerson died in 1829 at the Credit, to the unrestrained grief of the Indian women whose lot she had sought to lighten by labours beyond her strength, Egerton took the two children to his home.

CORRESPONDENCE

HISTORY IN MOTION PICTURES

(The following interesting comment on Dr. C. W. Jefferys's article, "History in Motion Pictures," which appeared in the December issue of the *CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, has been sent to us by Mr. Clifford P. Wilson, editor of *The Beaver*, which is published by the Hudson's Bay Company.—EDITOR'S NOTE)

I was very much interested in Mr. Jefferys' article in the December *Canadian Historical Review* entitled "History in Motion Pictures." As I was technical adviser on the Canadian end of the picture "Hudson's Bay," it is very gratifying to read his general remarks in connection with this production, but at the same time I do feel that he was being a little lenient.

The job of a technical adviser on an historical picture is a curious one. Some people call them the technical directors, but they are definitely not that. The advice they give is sometimes taken, but not often. There are three stock excuses offered for not taking such advice: 1. It won't photograph well; 2. It costs too much; 3. Nobody is going to notice it anyway.

I had the pleasure of making three trips to Hollywood in connection with the picture "Hudson's Bay," and on my first two visits I think I was of some use. The first time, I went over the script with Mr. Trotti, who is one of their star writers, and was able to suggest various changes in the part that had already been written, and a few other situations which might help the story. The second time, my job was to choose costumes and props. The picture had been on the fire for a couple of years, but at the last moment everything had to be done in a rush, and so proper costumes and props were not obtainable.

I wanted them to use big canoes—properly designed and really made of birch bark, or at least covered with birch bark, but they told me that it would cost at least \$700.00 apiece to build them. In Canada they could have been built of real birch bark for about \$150.00 apiece. They simply used some sixteen-foot canvas canoes covered with fake birch bark, which they borrowed from M.G.M. They were the same canoes as were used in "Northwest Passage." The toboggans used were made of wood with realistic birch bark painted on them, and I think these were the best props of all. The teepees were also made of fake birch bark.

The flintlocks had a curious history. They were originally made in large quantities for the troops of Emperor Haile Selassie, to defend his kingdom against the machine guns of the Italians. When that war was finished, the manufacturers found that they had a great number of these flintlocks on hand, so they sold them in batches to the various movie companies. The snowshoes used were simply some that they had in stock, of a nondescript pattern, unlike any used by Canadian Indians.

I notice Mr. Jefferys mentions that there was no governor's coach in Montreal at that time. I did point this out to them, but you couldn't expect a movie producer to do without such a picturesque object when he had a chance of using it. Such digressions from historical fact were neatly summed up by the art director, when he said in response to my complaints, "We are not interested in accuracy so much as atmosphere."

As for the costumes, the Hollywood costumers, like most other people, seem to think that the Indian wore a sort of uniform of buckskin leggings, and hair parted in the middle and hanging in two plaits. I had especially explained to

them that the "hair-do" would be extremely varied—depending on individual tastes; but it was so much easier to buy fifty or one hundred wigs all of the same pattern, that this was the plan followed. As the costume of the white man was so similar, I suggested that for the winter scenes they should wear blanket *capotes*. They made one up for Lord Crewe out of a Hudson's Bay "Point" Blanket and trimmed it with fur to give it the lordly touch; but when Mr. Zanuck saw it he didn't like it and ordered a substitute made, consisting of what looked to me like rubber with a fur trimming. The court costumes were, of course, extremely expensive. They didn't have any big enough to fit Laird Cregar, so his had to be made specially. The costume in which he appears for a brief ten seconds or so when he steps out of the coach cost a mere \$250.00.

You can imagine it was with considerable dismay that I found, on my third visit, that they hadn't followed my suggestions in many respects. The first day's shooting was up on the lake on Twentieth Century-Fox's lot—a very useful body of water, which at various times has represented the Hudson River of Fulton's time, Lake Michigan at the time of the Chicago fire, and the beach at Dunkirk. In this picture, it was to represent the St. Lawrence at Montreal and the Thames at London. They began shooting the flotilla of canoes returning from the north to Montreal. The Hollywood Indians paddled like mad as they raced together towards the dock, but few of them had ever been in a canoe before, and you can imagine the result! Personally, I was appalled, and Mr. Macgowan, the producer, an erudite, urbane graduate of Harvard, admitted that it was terrible. However, we couldn't take time at that point to teach these extras the fine points of paddling. After Mr. Muni fell into the lake, I did suggest a better way of getting out of the canoe, and John Sutton proved himself quite an apt pupil in the art of paddling. Laird Cregar, of course, just dipped his paddle and the canoe shot forward! Paul Muni's steersman was an Indian from the southwest who has appeared in many pictures, but his efforts with the paddle definitely showed that he didn't come from the northwest or the northeast.

One of the stars remarked to me just before he stepped in, "I wonder how I shall be in a canoe?" That, to my way of thinking, is comparable to the lead in a western picture suddenly wondering how he would be on a horse. What amazed me was that when the picture was finally shown, the paddling didn't look too bad—in fact, several of our fur traders in this Company said that they thought most of the outdoor scenes were quite good.

After a while, I found that mere suggestions did little good, and the only way to get any action was to get tough. Unfortunately, I couldn't stay for the winter scenes or I would have made several suggestions on those also, some of which might have been carried out.

I am glad to see that Mr. Jefferys didn't mince words when talking of "North-west Mounted Police." If he wants to get any support for his views, I am sure he would find it by communicating with Mr. Bruce Carruthers, an ex-Mounted Policeman who generally acts as technical adviser on Mountie pictures in Hollywood, but who was not given that job on the De Mille picture—the reasons for which cannot now be told. I was fortunate enough to see the shooting of the scene where the Indians, by order of Big Bear, throw down the scarlet tunics they have taken from dead policemen at the battle of Duck Lake. It was interesting to be told by Mr. De Mille afterwards that he had originally intended to do a picture on the Hudson's Bay Company, choosing the period of strife before 1821. He explained to me, however, that he would have to take sides and show the North West Company as the villains of the piece. And he certainly didn't want to offend the North West Company!

REVIEW ARTICLE

HISTORICAL NOVELS OF 1941

WHEN Hendrik Willem Van Loon spoke over the Canadian airwaves in his war broadcast a number of months ago, he made a very pregnant reference to the role of history in modern life. He said: "Let us train every one of our citizens to keep his mind wide open. It may take years to train them in that knowledge of the past which alone can prevent them from repeating all the mistakes of the past. Let us teach them to study history and to use their historical knowledge not merely as an amusing pastime for their leisure hours but as the best possible protection against that old and dangerous affliction known as fact-blindness."¹ This would be an important observation at any time. It is particularly important in today's world, torn as it is by the conflict of war. As Professor Watson Kirkconnell says: "We are part of the flow of history and cannot remain indifferent to it."²

As noted in the first of these annual reviews covering historical novels,³ there is a distinct relation between actual history and the re-creation of history in the form of a novel. Historical novels can exert a powerful influence on individuals and through individuals on the social unit. The finest type of historical novel not only illuminates our present by illuminating the past from which our present arose, it also drives home the fact that each generation is but the end-product of all that preceded it. The historical novel, as the first review article said, "can offer a re-creation of the past that is at once imaginative and realistic; it can imbue famous figures of yesteryear with immediate vitality and emotional effectiveness; it can enable us to appreciate the conditions of living out of which our own society has arisen." In the 1941 crop of historical novels—at least, those representatives of the crop which have reached this desk—there are intimations of these roles of the historical novel, though in varying degree.

The very complexity of the contribution made by the historical novel and the variety of ways in which such a novel may illuminate experience, makes the writing of a survey of a number of historical novels somewhat disconcerting. Last year, the various stories could be arranged in categories and discussed from that point of view. This year, the historical novelists have not been quite so co-operative! Only in one instance is it possible to group together a number of the 1941 books. Therefore it has been found necessary, for the purposes of the current article, to present the material in a different fashion. The books have been arranged roughly in the order in which their material is dated, and the approach to a survey of them is a chronological one.

This approach, of course, provides its own satisfying illumination. A tremendous panorama of North American history is made visible; and although it may lack something in mass and unity, it lacks nothing in emphasis and coherence. It reveals a distinctive continuity in man's activities on this continent.

Happily enough, the first book on the list is by the late and cherished John Buchan. It is a boys' book and surveys the full range of the white-man's occupation of Canada. It is written in a beautiful flowing style, full of powerful imagery and quaint lore, and presents a fine array of historical information for the young

¹C.B.C. broadcast, November 10, 1940, "Let's Face the Facts," no. 18 (Ottawa, Director of Public Information).

²*Twilight of Liberty* (Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1941), 69.

³See CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XXII, March, 1941, 51-9.

mind. The book is called *Lake of Gold*. It gets its title from the fact that young Donald, summer visitor to the forest home of Bellesfleurs, makes the acquaintance of Father Laflamme, priest, and Negog, Indian guide. With the help of Indian "magic," Donald was able to see a pageant of history in the golden pools of the Manitou River at sunset. He found himself "looking at a motion picture, one without captions. He did not need any explanatory words, for he seemed to recognize each scene and to know precisely what it meant. What language was spoken did not matter, for, whatever it was, he understood it perfectly. Donald was always a little slow in getting the hang of the ordinary picture at the start but here his comprehension was so complete and immediate that he might himself have been the producer." This imaginative trick made it possible for Mr. Buchan to survey a long sweep of history. Donald sees the Norsemen come to Canada. He sees the first bold navigation of the Columbia, he sees Cartier, he sees the Iroquois Indians, he sees the Indians on the prairies, he sees the ancient Eskimo. Mr. Buchan's skill has made the various cameos living pictures, and the reader as well as Donald is able to watch the dramatic unfolding of events. As Susan Tweedsmuir says in a brief but touching foreword: "John Buchan loved children and he wanted to help children of North America to realize the intensely romantic background of the history of their country. All who love tales of Indians and magic and mystery will love this book and it will make a special appeal to those whose ancestors took part in this pageant of history. . . ." As a matter of fact, Mr. Buchan has brought sections of Canada's past to life with "vivid beauty and power." It is peculiarly fitting that his talents were turned to this end in his last book for boys.

Les Opiniâtres is the first French-Canadian historical novel it has been the privilege of this department to review. M. Desrosiers has written a romance of some considerable attraction. A literal translation of the title might be "The Stubborn Ones," or "The Obstinate Ones." M. Desrosiers, however, would probably prefer translating the title into "The Intrepid Ones," or "The Determined Ones." His story begins in the year 1636 and ends in the year 1665. It describes the most heroic as well as the most terrible years of the French occupation and penetration of the vast North American continent. In those far-off years, France was beginning in the New World the creation of the empire which the author describes in his preface: "Floating over a series of forts and establishments, the Fleur-des-Lis marked a gigantic T across the continent. The bar of the T extended from the Gulf of the St. Lawrence to the Rockies, the upright of the T traversed the present United States the length of the Mississippi. By two great rivers the hinterland had been discovered, penetrated, conquered." This was a tremendous accomplishment, occupying scarcely more than two centuries, and the critical years, at least in the building of this vast colonial empire, were the years studied by M. Desrosiers. They were years of colonization, of frightful Iroquois warfare, of sacrifice and hardship. But the French from the Old World were stubbornly unwilling to believe they could not make the New World submit. They stuck it out—and won through. The dramatization of their experiences, as set forth in these pages, is definitely inspirational.

In his own inimitable way, Mr. Alan Sullivan in *Three Came to Ville Marie*, deals with the Indian warfare of this period, though there is also considerable data on intrigue among the whites sitting in the seats of power in the New World. Mr. Sullivan makes it all amazingly vivid, and if the reader should happen to quarrel with the paucity of the documentation, Mr. Sullivan would answer simply

(and truthfully) that this is not that kind of historical novel. It is designed to be accurate enough in generalities, complete enough in detail, but not to portray historical personalities as much as to put on paper the colour and atmosphere of ancient times. With that objective, the reader of lively, swift-moving, "punchy" stories will quite agree. And he will agree, also, that Mr. Sullivan approximates his aim handsomely. Paul came to New France to till the soil. Jules came to defend the colonists from the Indians. Jules brought his wife with him, and to the playing-down of most of the other people in these pages, Paul, Jules, and Jacqueline work out their destinies. The Indian fighting is intensely exciting.

Chronologically, *Hilton Head* picks up the narrative of the white man on this continent at the year 1665 and carries it through to 1686. But the area is much farther south than the St. Lawrence Valley. Miss Pinckney, who is a poet of brevity turned novelist of length (there must be at least 225,000 words in her story), describes the early years of Carolina. She gives in amazing detail how the settlers lived, how they opened up the country. The life in Carolina somewhat paralleled the life in the more northerly Canadian settlements. There was the same rudeness of living-ways, the same fight against the unfriendly and unco-operative wilderness,—and considerable interest attaches thereto. Miss Pinckney's narrative is remarkable for its detail, its colour, its action. There are many incidents, well run together, and the attention rarely flags. As one might expect from a poet, the pages abound in quotable remarks: "The low tree withstands the wind. . . . Necessity is the mother of dishonesty. . . . Rumors are like wind in the belly—all noise and no nourishment. . . . Avoid that subtlest wile of Satan, the vanity of being consistent."

From the seventeenth century, our survey now moves to the end of the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Miss Evelyn Eaton's *Restless Are the Sails* deals chiefly with the siege of Louisbourg. She has tremendously vital and stirring material here, which she treats with raciness and verve. It is perhaps this very raciness which leads her into certain pitfalls. And while it may seem picayune to point out various minor inadequacies, there is a certain amount of flattery attached to such attention: the professional critic refuses to take time to do that unless he favours the ability and the future of the author so examined! Therefore when a sentry "staggers" into the Governor's Palace, when Paul "staggers" through the streets of the surrendered town, and when Captain Woodes "staggers" on Oiseau de Proie, there is some danger of the reader staggering, too! Furthermore, and more damagingly, the episodes of the "ghost ship" are unreal, and the killing of the soldier is equally unreal. The handling of the episode of the Governor's daughter and Paul in the hut (pp. 176 ff.) is slightly amazing, if not in its exposition certainly in its colouring. But after all this is said, then what? Well, Miss Eaton has a flair for historical research that is wholly refreshing. She goes so far in these pages that she uses the very words said and written by historical personages, and this not infrequently. Governor Shirley, Parson Moody, François Bigot, Vaughan, Tufts—these men move in these pages, in fictitious and actual events, in company with a goodly troop of fictitious people. It is this factuality which gives the story its humanity, its sense of conviction, its air of high adventure.

From 1744 our survey now takes us to 1759 and *Flags Over Quebec*. Miss Watson has contrived a dramatic story of the French and English struggling for the supremacy of Canada. The fictitious circumstance of Hilary French, English lad, falling overboard from the flagship of General Wolfe's expedition to conquer

Canada, and being picked up by Félix Boucher, French Canadian, and nursed back to health, enables Miss Watson to contrast vividly the aims and hopes of the two races caught in the maelstrom of empire building. Hilary learns much of the ways of the French Canadians, and when he later rejoins Wolfe's army this knowledge is valuable. Attempting to prevent the English from burning the village of his French-Canadian friend, Hilary is misunderstood, and the two lads are estranged. As one might expect, both are present at the historic battle on the Plains of Abraham. Hilary later goes into the wilderness north of the Ottawa River to choose his land by right of service to His Majesty. The narrative is marked by veracity, modest colour, and a genuine "feel," for the living-ways in Canada nearly two hundred years ago.

All of which brings us to the only grouping possible in this survey—those novels discussing the American Revolutionary War. There are five of them, some covering the whole of the period, some going a little beyond it. Taken as a group, they are typical of the work already done in this era, but none shine out like Robert Graves's *Sergeant Lamb's America* (New York, 1940) or Kenneth Roberts's *Oliver Wiswell* (New York, 1940). Nevertheless, they do have their points, and some of them are most compelling reading. Take Mr. Stanley Gray's *Half That Glory*. It is almost a minor *Anthony Adverse*. Although it covers the Revolutionary period with some thoroughness, most of the action—the important plot action, at any rate—is in France and England, where diplomats and emissaries try to gain French support. The historical characters include Beaumarchais, Franklin, Arthur Lee. There is plotting, chicanery, and espionage, involving the British Secret Service. The romantic thread is found in the adventures of Chris Keene and Cynthia Lanham. The story as a whole is picaresque, faintly lusty, fast moving. In short, it is history heavily sugar-coated, good "escape" reading.

Mr. Hough's *The Neutral Ground* is somewhat similar in this respect. It pays more attention to fictional people than to real people. It "fictionizes" the war events. But Mr. Hough does get the mood of the period, and he presents an important analysis of the reaction of the public to the army at the end of a long war. There is colour and excitement in the way Mr. Hough handles physical action and love—the former with dash, the latter with restraint.

Historical glow is also to be found in Mr. Pleasants's *Mars' Butterfly*, but most will agree that it lacks veracity of tone. Perhaps this is due to the peculiar and unexpected combination of penetrating psychological treatment of historical people with somewhat juvenile narrative treatment. Mr. Pleasants discusses Benedict Arnold, John André, and the famous (some call her infamous) Peggy Shippen in these terms. He examines with fine thoroughness the career of André as a secret agent under Sir Guy Carleton. Canada was an object of André's attention. According to Mr. Pleasants, André began his work at least three years before the outbreak of the Revolution. This included the organization of the Hessians for service, touring the New England colonies in the winter of 1775, the interception of the letter from the Massachusetts Provincial Congress in 1775 protesting the religious clauses in the Quebec Act. André visited Canada in the spring of 1775 and there followed the public protests of the Canadians against the Massachusetts action, and their later refusal to join the more southerly colonies in the Revolutionary War. If Mr. Pleasants had only removed some of the curiously affected plot machinery from his narrative, it would not only have read more satisfyingly but would have had a more definite air of reality.

Major André also turns up in *Richard Pryne* as a socialite performing in

amateur theatricals, but this is in New York and not in Philadelphia. Mr. Harris confines his action almost entirely to New York and its environs. There is spying, smuggling, and other action of similar excitement. There are military skirmishes and forays. Despite all this, here and there the story gets a bit tiresome because of its overburden of historical detail—which may be valuable but which holds up the action without contributing to the suspense. However, Mr. Harris does give an excellent picture of realistic rather than stagey espionage, and of actual living in New York City during the British occupation.

Curiously enough, there is considerable connection between *Richard Pryne* and *Tory Oath*. Both describe the ambush of the attempted raid on Elizabethtown, both describe the attempt of the Loyalists to cross a bridge the poles of which had previously been greased by the rebels (to the fatal discomfiture of the Loyalists). Basically, however, Mr. Pridgen restricts his treatment of the Revolution to the tidewater area of North Carolina between 1774 and 1780. The Scots of Cape Fear Valley, torn between their sworn loyalty to the crown and their fierce love of freedom, finally took their stand with the British. Mr. Pridgen starts off slowly, with much braid Scotch and some Gaelic in his dialogue. But there is blood and thunder aplenty, including ghastly details of battles with bayonet and sabre. The love story has some exasperation, and the whole performance is solid but not unexciting reading.

As a sort of conclusion to this group of novels about the American Revolutionary period, Miss Marguerite Allis's *Not Without Peril* is of genuine interest. It is one of those unexpected things in literature—a historical novel by a woman for women readers. It starts in 1742 and runs to 1805, therefore beginning well before and ending well after the Revolutionary era. The leading character is Jemima who marries in turn Sartwell, Phipps, Howe, and finally Tute. She lives in New Hampshire, New York, and Massachusetts, inland from the regular settlements, and exposed to the rigours of Indian hostilities. Montreal, Quebec City, and some of the early Canadian countryside, are included in the settings. Vaudreuil, Montcalm, and Bigot (obliquely), appear in the narrative. Miss Allis presents the horrors of Indian fighting satisfactorily. In an extended period of warlike relations in the Champlain and Connecticut River settlement, pioneer life is well described, most particularly in terms of the womenfolk involved. Canadians will read with especial interest Miss Allis's description of Montreal in the period, when the Indian allies of the French were not always amenable to discipline.

From this eighteenth-century excitement, our survey moves us to less dramatic but no less revealing material. *They Came to a River* by Miss Allis McKay starts in 1801, and the river is the Columbia in its upper reaches. The story runs on for many years, ending shortly after World War I on a note of quaint nostalgia. The characters end up in a valley that is the "most remote, the most peaceful, place in the whole world," where there is haphazard but amiable paternalism. From furs to lumber, and then from cattle to wheat, and finally to orchards (a vision of one of the very first settlers), Miss McKay presents an amazing array of pioneering detail. In some ways, a deal of it is hardly historical, but it will be a type of historical novel, in due course.

The next three books in our survey, however, are distinctly historical in both material and presentation. They deal with the British-American war of 1812-14. Miss Schumann's *My Blood and My Treasure* is perhaps a little creaky in plot, but the colouring is undeniably good, and there is a lode of infor-

mation about Indians and Indian customs (particularly those dealing with death and marriage). Miss Schumann makes fine use of the vernacular of the day and area, and the reader will be titivated by such words as "wamblecropt," "bamming," "honeyfugle," "threeping." The aim of the story is to describe the importance of the control of Lake Erie in that war, and the Battle of Lake Erie involving Barclay and Perry is graphically set forth.

Mr. Beebe likewise concerns himself with the War of 1812, keeping most of his action in Ohio and Michigan Territory. Rod Hale, Boston gentleman, and Buck Stark, western roughneck, "team up" and fight with the Western Army against the British at Detroit, at Sandwich in Canada, at Frenchtown. Mr. Beebe describes how disaster overtakes the Americans at Detroit because of Hull's faintheartedness, and at Frenchtown because of carelessness and ignorance. The story is incidental and exciting, the colour accurate, and the events are based on history.

Mr. Forester's new novel, *The Captain from Connecticut*, discussing the same period, is entirely naval. It is a tribute to American seafighters in the War of 1812. In the winter of 1814, young Captain Josiah Peabody of Connecticut was to sail from New York to the British West Indies, under orders to intercept British merchant ships, with the double mission of destroying them and of luring as many British gunboats as possible from their Atlantic blockade patrol. The young Captain's adventures are, as might be expected at Mr. Forester's hands, highly exciting and wholly satisfying. Not only that, but his visit to Martinique and his encounter with Anne de Villebois provide romantic notes of unmistakable charm!

Our survey now moves rapidly into pre-modern times. Mr. August Derleth's *Bright Journey* is an excellent study of the Wisconsin and Michigan fur trade from 1826 to 1843. There is a prologue of the British occupation of Fort Mackinac from 1812-15, which rather connects Mr. Derleth's story with the three noted immediately before it. He draws what is undoubtedly an authentic picture of white contact with Indians on the then frontier, showing how some of the unscrupulous whites took advantage of the more naive Indians and how the more wily Indians took advantage of the weakness of the whites. Hercules Dousman is an actual person. He worked for the John Jacob Astor fur interests before setting up for himself in partnership with another man. Travelling widely in the pursuit of furs, Dousman tried to lessen the crudeness of the white impact upon the Indian, and there is plenty of documentary evidence of this work on Dousman's part. The love interest which Derleth has woven into the narrative is compatible with both the story structure and the historical background. Jane, the French-Indian girl, is beautiful, vivid, enticing. The result is an additional appeal in an already charming historical narrative!

From the Mid-West in the '40's to gold mining in California in '49 and '50 is a leap of some dimensions, but that is what John Weld does when he thrusts us into the pages of *The Pardners*. Ira Allen of New Hampshire, Savannah of Georgia, Mark Wilson of South Carolina—the call of gold was heard by many men in the Eastern States. They meet in the episodes of this sprightly story. The colour is patently authentic and the drama is undeniably gripping. There is plenty of fun, too. When Widow Henderson is raffled off by the rough miners, who had not seen a woman for months, there is a laugh on every page. Mr. Weld will be remembered for his striking *Don't You Cry for Me* (New York, 1940). Also concerned with the United States is Mr. Schachner's *By the Dim Lamps*.

Exciting, stirring, magnificent, absorbing, enthralling, lively, major, are some of the encomiums thrown by the reviewers in Mr. Schachner's direction, and all of them are deserved. It is a fine piece of writing, carefully documented, but rapid in pace and appealing in sentiment at the same time. The locale of the story is New Orleans; the time is the Civil War and Reconstruction period; the action is at once exciting and credible. The Reconstruction period, for most of the Deep South, was but a continuation of the war itself, but this part of the struggle was won by the South. Mr. Schachner makes that quite clear in his highly readable novel, and in doing so adds to New Orleans's magnetism.

This brings us to the two remaining books on our list, Ringuet's *Thirty Acres* and Hugh MacLennan's *Barometer Rising*. Although some might question their inclusion in a survey of historical fiction it must be remembered that there are two kinds of historical novels: those written at a time when the material is documentary rather than oral to the author; and those where the material is oral and where the author can speak with people who experienced the action of his story. If such material is handled properly, the story becomes in a few years' time, to all intents and purposes, a true historical novel. It deals with an actuality in such a way that it re-creates a portion of the past. There can hardly be any argument that this is precisely what M. Ringuet and Mr. MacLennan have done.

Thirty Acres presents a remarkable picture of French-Canadian life from just before World War I, through the war, and to the depression which followed the war. The reader gets a new yardstick with which to measure the French-Canadian people. There is interest in comparing *Thirty Acres* with *Maria Chapdelaine*. In the latter "the voice of the land of Quebec" speaks to Maria as she is trying to determine whether to stay in the harsh, cruel, cold climate and endure the cramped and rigorous life of the struggling back-country settlement where she was born, or accept the hand of an expatriated son of Quebec and go with him to the milder clime, the easier life, the urban comforts and relative wealth of a New England town. In *Thirty Acres* old Euchariste Moisan actually goes to such a town, to find employment, a tawdry sort of life, working as a watchman in a garage. Ringuet does not forego sly irony at the expense of the French Canadians. The pattern of his story is good. The slight clumsiness in style in the first quarter (such as modifiers too far from nouns and pronouns too far from antecedents), almost disappears in the second quarter, and is happily absent from the remainder. The pictures drawn by Ringuet of French-Canadian life are clear-cut, accurate, and valuable. They form a record which will be important in the years to come.

In like manner *Barometer Rising* is a record, this time of the great explosion in Halifax during World War I. Mr. MacLennan has drawn a careful portrait of the actual collision of the merchant ship and the explosives ship, and the resultant havoc throughout the entire city. The love colour in the narrative is quite secondary, in value certainly, to the admirable way in which the devastation is reported and in which the reactions of the people who escaped the explosion are described. Never in Canadian history has there been such a dramatic incident of sudden and wholesale death. Mr. MacLennan's skill in catching the mood, the physical effects, the human responses, of that catastrophe is greatly to be envied.

Even so brief a survey as this makes clear what a wealth of Canadian material is available to the historical novelist. Many among the novels of 1941 which have reached this desk have a richness, a strength of depiction, which make the periods they re-create near and vital for the reader.

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- SCHUMANN, MARY. *My blood and my treasure*. New York: Dial Press [Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co.]. 1941. Pp. 439. (\$3.00)
- SULLIVAN, ALAN. *Three came to Ville Marie*. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1941. Pp. vi, 391. (\$2.50)
- WATSON, VIRGINIA. *Flags over Quebec: A story of the conquest of Canada*. Illustrated by HARVE STEIN. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc. [Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co.]. 1941. Pp. iv, 217. (\$2.50)
- WELD, JOHN. *The pardners: A novel of the California gold rush*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1941. Pp. vi, 349. (\$2.75)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Les Canadiens français et leurs voisins du sud. Publié sous la direction de GUSTAVE LANCTOT. (Les Relations du Canada avec les Etats-Unis, Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix Internationale.) Montréal: Editions Bernard Valiquette; Toronto: Ryerson Press; New Haven: Yale University Press. 1941. Pp. xii, 322. (\$3.00)

It is gratifying to all those sincerely interested in French-Canadian affairs that this new addition to the Carnegie series should appear in the language spoken by over three million Canadians. In this way it should reach the very wide audience in Quebec that it clearly deserves, and it is to be hoped that it will also be read and pondered upon by English-speaking Canadians and by the many friends of Canada in the United States.

As was to be expected, M. Lanctot has done an excellent job in presenting an interesting picture of the relations between French Canada and the United States. His own chapters dealing with the history of Acadian relations with New England, 1603-1763, the connections between Quebec and the American colonies between 1760 and 1820 and especially his analysis of the so-called "Americanization" of Quebec, 1867-1937, combine interest with scholarship, and a passionate patriotism with a disinterested criticism of some excesses of Quebec nationalism. M. Jean Bruchesi has given us a most interesting study of American influences in the politics of Lower Canada in the period 1820-67. It is to be especially commended for the intelligent appreciation of the importance of the economic factors shown by the author. M. Bruchesi has also been careful to analyse not only the French-Canadian reaction to the possibility of annexation by the United States, but also to give considerable space to an interesting study of American ideas on the subject. His statement that the American attitude towards the Rebellion of 1837 was compounded of sympathy and a somewhat greedy imperialism which welcomed the absorption of Canada, seems an acute estimate of the situation in the United States at that time.

Unfortunately, some of the other chapters do not measure up to the high standard set by Messrs. Lanctot and Bruchesi. A joint enterprise, such as this volume, is naturally sometimes rather uneven in style and even in content. It almost seems a pity that the whole project could not have been carried out by a smaller and more homogeneous group of scholars. In this way some repetition and inequalities might have been avoided.

M. Raymond Parent's chapter on Anglo-French relations in the St. Lawrence Valley, shows distinct evidences of repetitiousness and of somewhat hasty writing. M. Benoît Brouillette's chapter on the French-Canadian role in the expansion of the fur trade, the exploration of the continent, and the development of missions, leaves something to be desired. It is a good catalogue of all the personalities, companies, and religious organizations involved, but actually it is not much more than that. The Abbé Robitaille's chapter on the religious expansion of the French Canadians in the United States is especially interesting for its clear exposition of the Quebec feeling of having a definite mission to spread the light of Catholic and French civilization all over the North American continent. But this chapter too, suffers a little from being too much of a list of religious institutions and establishments. The estimate of the total French-Canadian population in the United States in 1935 would carry more weight if it had been based on the comprehensive figures contained in the United States Census reports, rather than on the somewhat biased source used by the author.

M. Lanctot's final chapter on the relations between Quebec and the United States in the seventy year period between Confederation and 1937, is perhaps the most valuable in the book. It focusses the reader's attention on the undoubted fact that the so-called "Americanization" of Quebec does present a vitally important problem. Not only French Canadians, but also their fellow Canadians of English speech and their fellow North Americans south of the border should co-operate in the preservation of the splendid elements of French civilization that Quebec has to contribute to this continent. M. Lanctot's able and tolerant explanation of the French-Canadian feeling not only for their way of life and the necessity of preserving it, but also about the impact on Quebec of the more materialistic and pragmatic Anglo-Saxon civilization, should do much to bring about mutual sympathy and understanding.

The book is presented in the Carnegie series' usual excellent and interesting way. It is to be hoped that it will serve as the precursor of other volumes dealing with the increasingly important relationships between French Canada and the United States.

ELIZABETH H. ARMSTRONG

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Western Ontario and the American Frontier. By FRED LANDON. (Relations of Canada and the United States, a series of studies prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History; J. T. Shotwell, director.) Toronto: Ryerson Press; New Haven: Yale University Press. 1941. Pp. xviii, 305. (\$3.50)

THIS is a notable volume among learned publications because it is so readable. Of all the volumes in the Carnegie series on Canadian-American relations it is the one which may most confidently be recommended to the intelligent non-professional reader as something that he will thoroughly enjoy. Professor Landon, writing about his own Western Ontario, has obviously been engaged in a labour of love; and his book has an attractive charm about it which is apt to hide from all but the professional student of Canadian history the immense amount of original research that must have preceded the writing.

Western Upper Canada, the peninsula, was that part of British North America most directly affected by American influences in the first half of the nineteenth century, because it lay right across the path of the stream of settlers who were pouring westward from the north-eastern states. Mr. Landon shows how these settlers, whether of the original Loyalist stock or of the later group of land-hungry immigrants, brought all the essential features of American culture with them, in education, in religion, in agricultural and industrial techniques, and in social life generally. And he goes on to analyse the strains which developed between the frontier democratic tendencies of most of the settlers and the system of "subordination" which officials, with the help of some of the Loyalists, were trying to impose upon the social and political institutions of the new colony. He has traced the interactions of all these forces in a most interesting study which never sinks into a mere sociological treatise dealing with abstractions but remains a genuine historical work telling of the lives of real individual men and women. We need more of this kind of social history for other parts of Canada. Once we have it, the era will be past when any Canadian can complain that "our Canadian history is as dull as ditchwater and our politics is full of it."

One outstanding feature in Mr. Landon's treatment of his subject is his

emphasis on the large part played by religious denominations in the communal life of Ontario. Like Professor Sissons in his biography of Ryerson, he studies the struggle between Wesleyan and Episcopalian Methodists as throwing light on the tension between English and American influences and at the same time on the growth of a national as distinct from a colonial sentiment. He shows how the low church movement centring in London, in its struggle for emancipation from high church controls in Toronto, represents another aspect of the democratic uprising. And he shows how all the sects which were typical of frontier America blossomed out in the Ontario peninsula.

As one reads these pages one is driven to speculate on the degree to which cultural and intellectual growth was slowed down in Upper Canada by this long-continued struggle of the democratic forces of the American frontier against the official determination to establish a society exhibiting a due subordination of class to class. Mr. Landon points out that much friction was avoided in the frontier areas south of the Great Lakes by the constitutional prohibition of the establishment of any religion. He remarks how scanty was the provision for primary education in Upper Canada before the Rebellion of 1837 as compared with the generous treatment of Upper Canada College. He suggests that the emigration of reformers which followed the rebellion lost to the community not merely some quantity of population but some very good quality as well. One of the families who left was that headed by the grandfather of Thomas Edison. This is a side of our Canadian-American relations which needs much further investigation.

The volume would be improved if it were provided with maps to illustrate the progress of settlement, roads, and railways at different periods. One would like also to see a Canadian volume of social history with the kind of illustrations in it which make the volumes of the *History of American Life*, edited by Messrs. Schlesinger and Fox, so interesting. Mr. Landon's narrative is more detailed and comprehensive for the earlier part of the period than for the later. He brings his account of labour and agriculture down to the 1890's, but most of his other topics stop short of Confederation. One would have liked the same sort of analysis applied to Western Ontario's attitude towards Confederation as is given to the period just before and just after the rebellion.

The volume, however, represents a notable advance in the writing of Canadian social history. Just how far we have yet to go may be realized by comparing Mr. Landon's bibliography with that which is given at the end of any of the volumes of the *History of American Life*. Carl Russell Fish's volume on *The Rise of the Common Man, 1830-1850* (New York, 1927), covers part of the same period as does Mr. Landon's book and deals with the same theme, the growth of the democratic way of life. His "Critical Essay on Authorities" occupies twenty-seven closely printed pages, and the bulk of it is taken up with the listing of modern monographs and special studies on industry, finance, invention, transportation, labour, agriculture, public lands, immigration, literature and thought, religion, humanitarian reform, education, science, the fine arts, social customs, and sports. The Fish volume, it is true, deals with the whole of the United States, while Mr. Landon is dealing only with one region of Canada. But the contrast between the amount of research that had been already done before Mr. Fish wrote his volume and the amount on which Mr. Landon could rely is not very flattering to Canadian historians.

Finally, this volume, which throws so much light on the social and intellectual background of our politics, brings out once more the need for a thorough and com-

prehensive study of the intellectual origins of Upper Canadian radicalism from the days of Gourlay and Mackenzie to the days of Brown, Blake, Mills, and Cameron. The ideas which went to make up the political philosophy of the Reformers came to a great extent from American sources, as Mr. Landon has made clear; but they also owed much to the radicalism of the mother country. Mr. Landon quotes John A. Macdonald in the 1850's as remarking of the peninsula that it was "occupied by Yankees and Covenanters, in fact the most yeasty and unsafe of populations." A full analysis of the yeast that has produced most of such radicalism as we have yet had in English-speaking Canada is greatly to be desired.

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War-Time Economics with Special Reference to Australia. By E. RONALD WALKER. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press. 1939. Pp. 174. (5s.)

Mobilizing Canada's Resources for War. By A. F. W. PLUMPTRE. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, Ltd. 1941. Pp. xxiv, 306. (\$3.00)

THESE two books deal with the economic problems of war as they confronted two of the great British commonwealths and are primarily designed to provide the general public with a more intelligent understanding of the issues involved. The volume dealing with Australia was finished during the first six weeks of the war and hence is primarily concerned with stating the basic problems and suggesting appropriate policies. That dealing with Canada was written nearly two years later, thus making possible not only an analysis of the problems as they developed in Canada but also an excellent account of what that country actually did in the effort to meet these problems up to the close of last summer.

Professor Walker at the time of writing was fully aware of the fact that the situation faced by Australia might develop along lines very different from those after 1914, depending chiefly on the attitude of Japan, and so insists upon the need for a policy which will consider such possibilities and prove quickly adaptable to changes in the political situation. Quite correctly stressing the point that the main problem is to secure the men and materials required rather than the problem of finance (though in fact the latter receives about as much space), he proceeds to survey the situation as regards the potential supplies of labour, materials, and productive capacity. The labour situation is covered rather carefully, but the treatment of materials and production capacity is very scant, especially in view of the author's recognition of their primary importance and the varied contingencies that might arise—and now have arisen—to alter greatly the situation. He admits that, despite the growth of manufacturing since 1914, this war caught Australia while still a "dependent" economy with a large proportion of its population engaged in production for export; but his attention seems to be more centred on the broader, long-run problems of self-sufficiency than on an analysis of the resources available for specific essential war needs in the crisis of the moment.

Since wages in Australia are adjusted at regular intervals to changes in the "cost of living," price control has added importance there. As it is estimated that imported goods do not make up more than five per cent of the items included in this "cost of living"—a much smaller proportion than in 1914—this somewhat simplifies the problem involved. The importance of rent control is stressed as well as the use of various other measures, such as rationing and stimuli to production, which are required to support effective price control.

The space devoted to war finance, despite the author's statement that it is a secondary problem, may perhaps be explained by his belief that "There is not enough *informed* criticism of public finance and monetary policy in Australia" (p. 106). One chapter is devoted to the general principles involved, expounded along the usual lines, and the second to a financial plan for Australia. Noting the low liquidity of Australian trading banks, great emphasis is placed on the point that extra money must be put into circulation through the medium of the Commonwealth Bank before it is withdrawn through increased taxation or borrowing, which might otherwise impose a monetary stringency upon private industry (p. 141). Doubtless to-day most would agree with this policy under the assumed conditions; yet, judging from past experience, far greater dangers arise from the usual delay in imposing taxes or the lag in receipts therefrom and from the slowness or failure to make sure that most government borrowing comes out of savings from current income. For the education of the public the latter point in particular deserves more emphasis. A final chapter touches rather sketchily on "Problems of Government," such as the effect of the war on spreading the scope of governmental control, the relation of the federal states to the Commonwealth, and the need for a better-trained staff of civil servants. The extremely important problem of securing a highly centralized and well co-ordinated organization of the various governmental units concerned with war mobilization nowhere receives the attention it requires.

Professor Plumtre's book developed out of an earlier *Report* prepared by him as Consultant for Canada for the Office of Price Administration at Washington. It is primarily a record of the first two years of Canada's economic preparations for war, but this is set in a penetrating and careful analysis of the particular problems created by the Canadian type of economy and its relation to those of Great Britain and the United States. The great importance of the latter relationship provides the most marked contrast with the Australian situation, which otherwise presents many striking similarities.

The course of Canada's economic mobilization, which by the autumn of 1941 is declared to have reached a point where it included a third of the country's resources and was about abreast of that of Australia, may be divided, according to the author, into three periods. The nine months following the war's outbreak was a time when the outside demand for crude materials could easily be supplied from "excess capacities" and there was little increase in Canadian war expenditures. The nine months from June, 1940, brought the need for the shift of production to war equipment, involving a large capital outlay with an expansive reaction on the economy and necessitating control measures. In the third period, starting in March, 1941, when the "zone of full employment" was entered, a rapid extension of war-time controls followed.

While only two chapters are devoted to the labour and equipment resources and their mobilization, some additional material will be found in a later chapter dealing with commodity controls. In view of the fact that this is the primary war problem and the author's statement that "the chief 'bottleneck' in the Canadian economic war effort since June, 1940, has been the difficulty of organizing production and getting orders placed" (p. 35), one wishes, just as in the case of the Australian study, that more space had been devoted to this topic. Possibly the need for secrecy may explain it.

Six chapters are devoted to various aspects of war expenditures, finance, and monetary controls. There is a careful analysis of the financial aid Canada has

extended to Great Britain and that received directly or indirectly from the United States; the net burden to June 30, 1941, being estimated at \$320 million which, added to Canada's own war outlay of \$1,085 million, brought the total cost of the war to the government to some \$1,400 million. For 1940, this amounted to 15 per cent of the national income while the outlay for the fiscal year ending March, 1942, is estimated at about 35 per cent of the income. Avoidance of inflation by a pay-as-you-go policy was Canada's announced ideal from the start. Yet at the beginning borrowing and taxation were delayed so as not to check war preparations until full employment and production were attained. The result has been that for the two fiscal years 1941 and 1942 about half the government outlay, including advances to Great Britain, will be met from tax receipts. Most of the new taxes, being direct, have trespassed on the field on which the provinces were dependent; and of the borrowing 55-60 per cent has come from the public or institutions other than banks and 25 per cent from the central bank. While wholesale prices had risen 26 per cent by July, 1941, and the cost of living 11 per cent, the author felt that "So far little of an inflationary nature seems to have entered into the Canadian price level" nor could he see anything like a wild inflationary movement at hand, despite the substantial diversion from the strict pay-as-you-go policy. Evidently the Canadian hope of avoiding inflation must lean very heavily on other than fiscal measures. The author admits that the problem of allocation and rationing was emerging and had not been fully faced by the various commodity controllers, thus necessitating the radical reorganization of August, 1941. Doubtless, it was the realization of the need for vigorous additional support which prompted the sweeping limitations on prices and wages announced in October, only in time to add a few notes as this book was going through the press.

This volume is admirably suited for its purpose. The exposition is clear; the analysis is careful; the balance, with the exception noted, is good; and the temper excellent. While one rather regrets the author's conscious restraint in criticism it is still possible to recognize points of policy about which he feels dubious.

CHESTER W. WRIGHT

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Histoire de la Louisiane française, 1673-1939. Par ÉMILE LAUVRIÈRE. (Romance Language Series, no. 3.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1940. Pp. 445. (\$3.50)

L'Histoire merveilleuse de la Louisiane française: Chronique des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles et de la cession aux États-Unis. Par RÉGINE HUBERT-ROBERT. New York: Editions de la Maison Française, Inc., 610 Fifth Avenue. 1941. Pp. 374. (\$2.00)

The French in the Mississippi Valley, 1740-1750. By NORMAN WARD CALDWELL. (Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. XXVI, no. 3.) Urbana: The University of Illinois Press. 1941. Pp. 113. (\$2.00 clothbound; \$1.50 paperbound).

A Glossary of Mississippi Valley French, 1673-1850. By JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT. (Washington University Studies, New Series, Language and Literature, no. 12.) St. Louis: Department of Serials and Documents, Washington University Library. 1941. Pp. ix, 161. (\$1.50)

THE title of Dr. Lauvrière's book is misleading and seems to be an afterthought. The main portion of the work, 379 pages out of 445, is devoted to the history of Louisiana from the first explorations of the Mississippi by the Spaniards in the

early sixteenth century to the retrocession of the colony to the French Crown by the Company of the Indies in 1731. The remaining 66 pages contain a discussion of the later years of the French régime (pp. 381-403), the Spanish rule (pp. 405-25), a short epilogue on the subsequent history of the French-speaking population of Louisiana (pp. 427-37), a bibliography (pp. 439-40), and a table of contents (pp. 441-5). The second part of the book is as superficial and unsatisfactory as the first is detailed and scholarly, and can therefore be dismissed without further comment.

The treatment of the earlier period from 1682, date of the discovery of the mouth of the Mississippi by La Salle, to 1731, is based on abundant documentation. The author has used extensively manuscript material found in French archives as well as printed sources. As is commonly the case, however, with French historians writing on early Mississippi Valley history, Dr. Lauvrière does not seem to have consulted some of the most significant American contributions on the subject. We find, for instance, no reference to any of the important studies which have appeared in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* and the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. In spite of this shortcoming, the book constitutes the best available study on Louisiana history from the beginnings to 1731.

In the light of his minute investigations, the author feels that certain generally accepted opinions must be revised. According to him, Bienville's fame is largely undeserved. Instead of being a disinterested leader, he placed his personal advancement above the common good and contributed to a serious weakening of morale not only in administrative circles but also among the population as a whole. On the other hand, in this book the almost forgotten engineer, Adrien de Pauger, emerges from his obscurity and stands out as a man of genius who showed great vision and influenced the whole course of Mississippi Valley history by choosing a most favourable site for the future city of New Orleans.

As the words *histoire merveilleuse*—found in the very title of her book—suggest, Mme. Hubert-Robert presents us with a graphic picture of the more sensational aspects of Louisiana history. The author has an unusual command of picturesque vocabulary and an undeniable talent for description. Due to the magic of her pen, the history of Louisiana becomes an animated and colourful pageant. Explorers, missionaries, soldiers, traders, *habitants*, wealthy merchants, plantation owners, government officials—all live again before our eyes. If some of these characters are capable of lofty sentiments, the greater number are creatures of flesh and blood, torn by petty ambitions, and incredibly weak in resolution. Licentiousness and corruption pervade the very atmosphere of the colony. An enervating climate sharpens the desires, destroys the will, and eats up the moral fibre. Most of the men are conceited, shallow, and unscrupulous. As for the women, whether they be of the lowest or the highest station in life, all are too easily led from the path of morality.

This exciting pageant moves against a highly picturesque background. There is hardly a chapter where the reader does not find elaborate references to the local flora and fauna. The multiplicity of names of exotic plants and animals, the profusion of colours and sounds, and the intensity of life with which she endows the semi-tropical landscapes of Louisiana make of Mme. Hubert-Robert a worthy rival of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre and Chateaubriand. The same overabundance of detail characterizes her descriptions of food, clothing, and every other aspect of the inhabitants' daily life. In all fairness to the author, it should be stated, however, that her book contains a considerable store of information

pertaining to the political history of the colony. As one reads her work, it soon becomes evident that she has consulted a great amount of source material. Unfortunately, her study shows a lack of sobriety and proportion. In her attempt to make her book interesting, Mme. Hubert-Robert has overstressed the wealth of flora and fauna, the demoralizing influence of the climate, the prevalence of intrigue and corruption, and particularly the immorality of Louisiana women. She seems to forget that, if many Manon Lescauts came at the time of Law's venture, historians agree, on the other hand, that they left hardly any descendants and that the women who were brought to Louisiana after 1721 were of unquestionable honesty and morality.

By way of concluding this review, it may be stated that important but matter-of-fact, unromantic questions such as the rôle of the church and political and financial administration have received but scanty treatment. A number of reservations should be made concerning the bibliography. It is strange, for instance, that the *Jesuit Relations* are not mentioned nor any works published after 1908.

Dr. Caldwell's monograph treats one of the most significant periods in the history of the Mississippi Valley. The decade 1740-1750 was one of supreme importance to the future of the French colonies in North America. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, concluded in 1748, was merely a truce in the general struggle, and both sides used that temporary halt to prepare for the final phase of the conflict which was to decide the fate of North America. The purpose of the author, as stated in his Preface, has been to make a detailed study of this period with the view of determining the importance of the Mississippi Valley, particularly the western regions, in shaping the destiny of French power in America.

The treatment is most methodical and thorough. Dr. Caldwell's study gives us an excellent insight into the difficulties which confronted French colonial administrators in the New World. The semi-feudal constitution of the mother country was ill adapted to the needs of New France, and it was folly to try to govern frontier posts from Versailles. The lack of adequate financial support for the colonies and the failure to take any effective measures to promote the increase of population and the development of agriculture made the loss of their North American empire unavoidable for the French. There was, it is true, one bright side to the general picture, their superiority over the English in handling the Indians. The French retained their political and economic control over the latter and were able to count until the end on the active aid of the large majority of the Indian nations of the interior. Yet France was fighting a losing battle. The numerical superiority of the English was overwhelming. The single colony of New York had at this time twice as many inhabitants as Canada and Louisiana combined. The demographic factor decided the outcome of the struggle for hegemony.

Dr. Caldwell has made excellent use of the French expense accounts for the western posts and the Vaudreuil manuscripts, an extensive collection of letters and documents from the correspondence of the Marquis de Vaudreuil and his officers from 1743 to 1747. The bibliography, which includes both manuscript and printed sources, is complete and contains valuable critical annotations for each of the items mentioned.

The purpose of Dr. McDermott's monograph is to furnish students of Mississippi Valley history with a working glossary of French words which recur often in their reading and yet are obscure and difficult to all except specialists in the language. The literature on the subject, and more particularly contemporary

memoirs and travel narratives, contain many words of frequent occurrence at the time, which are now no longer found, or are used with an entirely different connotation. Standard French dictionaries, such as the *Dictionnaire général de la langue française du commencement du XVII^e siècle jusqu' à nos jours* by Hatzfeld and Darmesteter and the *Dictionnaire de la langue française* by Littré, often fail to give a clue to the possible meaning of those words. The expression "Mississippi Valley" is taken in this book in a much broader sense than that which it has in the accepted geographical vocabulary. It is applied to the entire region from the Allegheny Mountains to the Rockies, and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf—in other words, to all those parts of the United States, where the French were particularly active as explorers, missionaries, travellers, traders, and settlers between the time of the discovery of the Mississippi and 1850.

The word list has been gathered from an impressive number of manuscript and printed sources. A few important works, however, have not been consulted. One finds no reference to the first four volumes of Margry's monumental collection or to the works of Hennepin. Among other sources which the author has overlooked, one can mention La Hontan, *Nouveaux Voyages dans l'Amérique septentrionale* (La Haye, 1703), J.-F. Bernard, *Relations de la Louisiane et du fleuve Mississippi* (Amsterdam, 1720), Bernard de la Harpe, *Journal historique de l'Etablissement des Français en Louisiane* (La Nouvelle-Orléans et Paris, 1831), Marie Madeleine Hachard, *Relation du voyage des Dames Religieuses Ursulines de Rouen à la Nouvelle-Orléans* (Rouen, 1728; reprinted, Paris, 1872), Dumont de Montigny, *Mémoires historiques sur la Louisiane* (Paris, 1753), and the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, a periodical which was founded in Lyons in 1823 and which published numerous letters from French missionaries labouring among the French and the Indians of the Mississippi Valley. But, as can be seen from a rapid perusal of the bibliography appended to the monograph, the material consulted is so extensive that the omissions mentioned above do not impair the usefulness of the work. Dr. McDermott has ably carried out the task which he set for himself, and his glossary of Mississippi Valley French should prove an invaluable tool for students of American history. It would be interesting to evaluate briefly the contribution which the author has made to the history of the French language, but this is a question which the space at my disposal does not allow me even to touch upon at this time.

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Propos et Portraits. Par Mgr OLIVIER MAURALT. Montreal: Editions Bernard Valiquette. 1941. Pp. 229. (\$1.25)

MGR Mauralt has once again given us a volume of literary and historical studies, written with that charm and purity of style which we are accustomed to expect from his pen. His work consists of two parts: the first a historical and critical account of the development of education in the province of Quebec set against the background of the general policy laid down by the Catholic Church in regard both to lay and to clerical instruction; the second part contains a few addresses of non-historical interest and a series of brief orations made on the conferring of various honorary degrees at the Université de Montréal.

It is in the first part that readers of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW will be interested; and rightly so, for I have read nowhere a better general account of the

origins, organization, and nature of higher education in Montreal than can be found here (pp. 158-209), and from this can be gained an insight into the fundamental differences that exist between the French- and English-Canadian universities. Moreover Mgr Maurault is not merely a propagandist. He is not writing to tell us that everything is just as it should be; he is perfectly willing to discuss faults as well as virtues and to try and allot the blame fairly. "Le grand obstacle que nous y rencontrerons tout de suite sera notre paresse intellectuelle. . . . Beaucoup de jeunes campagnards, ayant appris à lire, à écrire et à compter, n'ouvriront plus un livre, . . . Combien de nos bacheliers, une fois leur diplôme en poche, se sont avisés de reprendre, je ne dis pas leurs auteurs grecs ou latins, mais leurs auteurs français? . . . C'est que notre incuriosité intellectuelle est un diapason de notre paresse" (pp. 79-80). These are words that English Canadians might well take to heart—and at no time more than the present, when intellectual curiosity is often smothered before the altar of patriotic belief.

Mgr Maurault mentions that, in 1684, a certain M. de la Faye was being sent out from France, who as the letter announcing him said, "n'a pas de grands talents, mais il pourra bien être maître d'école à Montréal" (p. 118). Had Mgr Maurault liked to develop the point further, he could have brought forth still another reason for the general low standard of attainment in the Protestant and Catholic schools of the province of Quebec and therefore for the general lack of intellectual curiosity among those who graduate from them: the universally low salaries paid to their teachers and consequently the fact that teaching is regarded by too many persons "of not much talent" as a job to be taken only if nothing more profitable can be discovered; this is a situation not unknown even in the universities. Throughout Mgr Maurault makes clear the intimate association between the Catholic hierarchy and French-Canadian education, especially in the universities. "Il est réglé que le Chancelier sera toujours l'archevêque du lieu, le Recteur et le Vice-recteur toujours des prêtres; . . . nos statuts, conçus et rédigés par deux ou trois ecclésiastiques, ont reçu l'approbation définitive de Rome, en 1937. Des prêtres et des religieux enseignent dans toutes nos facultés et écoles" (p. 62). And behind this lies the work of Pope Pius XI which Mgr Maurault has admirably described in his first essay (pp. 7-44).

Both for enjoyment and instruction this little book can be strongly recommended to anyone interested in the organization of French-Canadian education.

E. R. ADAIR

McGill University.

The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland, 1783-1832: A Study of Retarded Colonisation. By A. H. McLINTOCK. (Royal Empire Society Imperial Studies, no. 17.) London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1941. Pp. xvi, 246. (\$5.00)

THIS monograph is a thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London. The author is a New Zealander, but his research was done in London, and was inspired by Professor A. P. Newton, general editor of the "Imperial Studies," himself an authority on the history of Newfoundland. These facts guarantee both a scholarly approach to the subject and a worthwhile contribution to historical knowledge. Dr. McLintock's object is to bridge the gap between the "struggling community" of 1783 and the "flourishing colony which received the gift of representative government in 1832." As no other compre-

hensive history of this period in Newfoundland has been published, the author had almost a virgin field in which to work. The value of his study is therefore obvious.

After 1783 the official policy of antagonism toward the colonists continued unchanged. Their competition in the fisheries with "adventurers" from home ports was still not wanted. Nevertheless, in 1793 the fishing monopolists suffered a slight defeat when they failed to prevent the establishment on the island of a new civil court under a chief justice. But it was the French Revolutionary wars which gave the colony its great chance to develop, for they finally put an end to the old "transient" fishery. The Napoleonic period was followed by a great depression in the fishing industry and widespread distress in Newfoundland. Yet the British government was slow in abandoning the regulations which had been enforced before 1793, when the island was still regarded primarily as a "nursery for seamen." In St. John's the Scottish logic of Carson was blended with the Irish wit of Morris to inspire an agitation which in 1824 secured the repeal of many of the obsolete fishing laws.

The author repeatedly refers to the "meagre" concessions (p. 174) of this reform as constituting the first grant of "colonial status." He is, perhaps, inclined to underestimate the steps which had already been taken in this regard. After all Newfoundland had had a colonial governor, appointed in the normal manner, ever since 1728; justices of the peace since 1729; a criminal court since about 1750; and a Vice-Admiralty Court, which punished breaches of the Navigation Acts, for about thirty years before 1765, the date here given for the setting up of such a court (p. 58). Another symptom of "colonial status" was the appointment of customs officers in 1764. It would have been worth noting that, in 1765, when an appeal relating to the island's standing was before the Privy Council, the Board of Trade was consulted. Its advice even then, which was accepted, was "that Newfoundland should be considered as part of His Majesty's Plantations."

In view of the title of the book, one might also raise the question of how the government of a British colony becomes "constitutional." The governors' activities had been regulated by Acts of Parliament since long before 1783. But to Dr. McLintock, "constitutional government" is synonymous with "representative government." He drops his story in 1832 when, "in spite of the opposition of the colonial office," the Reform Parliament adopted a bill providing for a Newfoundland legislature. But he does not indicate what power or importance, if any, it was intended that the new Assembly should have. His final chapter, entitled "The Establishment of Representative Government," is somewhat disappointing for he has very little to say regarding the character and organization of the "constitutional government" toward the creation of which his whole study had been leading.

In dealing with the "Legacy of the Past" the author makes some minor errors concerning the all-important Newfoundland Act of King William's reign. Its correct date is 1699, not 1698. He makes an over-statement when he says it "sounded the death-knell of colonization" (p. 6); and the statement (p. 19) that it recognized "the rights of the inhabitants to land which had been converted into private property before 1685" is incorrect. Such a recognition would have been of little importance, but what the Act did do was expressly to allow anyone who, at any time after 1685 built any fishing conveniences "that did not belong to fishing-ships since the said year" peaceably to "enjoy the same." And in 1699 only a small proportion of the Newfoundland coast had been used by British ships since 1685.

Dr. McIntock has dealt with all sides of the island's history during his period, and has been careful throughout to show how developments in Newfoundland were linked to the general colonial policies of Great Britain. He has written in an interesting style and his book deserves study by all students of colonial government or of Newfoundland history. There is a good index and an extensive bibliography. The eight appendices include a map, but contain no extracts from any Newfoundland "constitutional" Act.

GORDON O. ROTHNEY

Sir George Williams College, Montreal.

More Studies in Nova Scotian History. By GEORGE PATTERSON. Halifax: The Imperial Publishing Company. 1941. Pp. 180. (\$2.00 cloth; \$1.50 paper) THIS is the second book of sketches published by Judge Patterson during his retirement. He attempts to reveal some of the forgotten men in Nova Scotia's history, to explain Nova Scotian pride in the province and native sons, and to keep alive memories and traditions of the past. The writer quotes freely from original sources, has incorporated many footnotes to supplement the knowledge of the reader, and has used parts of conversations with elderly people and anecdotes which are rapidly disappearing. In the story of the 84th Emigrant Regiment during the American Revolution, the author depicts the patriot and bravery in battle of Scottish emigrants who answered the motherland's call to combat the rising tide of republicanism. Opposition of Legge, governor of Nova Scotia, to enlistment is partly explained by the rather contentious statement, "In truth, Nova Scotia was not a fertile field for enlistment. Not in the whole Province were there 2,500 fit to bear arms and two-thirds of these were in sympathy with the rebels" (p. 21). The Scots' deep-rooted religious convictions and love of their adopted land shine forth in the account of the Rev. James McGregor, the first Presbyterian minister in Pictou County, who laboured for years in Pictou, Cape Breton Island, Prince Edward Island, and along the east coast of New Brunswick.

Pride in the success of native sons is aptly illustrated in sketches of their careers. William Campbell, a Scot who fought in the Revolutionary War, obtained a grant of land, turned to the study of law, became attorney general of Cape Breton Island, judge, and Chief Justice of Upper Canada. He awarded damages to William Lyon Mackenzie in 1826, was knighted for his legal services, and made the first attempt at law reporting in Upper Canada. William A. Henry, elected to the Assembly of Nova Scotia at the age of twenty-five, performed noteworthy services, was one of the provincial representatives at the Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences, preceded the Canadian delegates to London by four weeks, and with J. W. Ritchie drafted the original Confederation Act. He was later honoured by appointment to the Supreme Court of Canada. Judge Crockett has also supplied an appreciation of James de Mille, beloved professor of Dalhousie University, and one of the first North American authors to win recognition in the United States. De Mille has thirty-one publications or more to his credit although he is now almost forgotten. Stories of three famous duels are told. Recent obituaries of legal men are included. Illuminating information is given on elections, political changes, and reforms which will be of interest to the searching scholar in provincial history. Nova Scotians who wish to understand themselves, and others who would try to appreciate provincial patriotism, will find this book of sketches valuable for its information and priceless for its implications.

ELDON P. RAY

Simcoe, Ontario.

Batoche: Les Missionnaires du Nord-Ouest pendant les troubles de 1885. Par Jules LeChevallier, O.M.I. Montréal: L'Oeuvre de Presse Dominicaine. 1941. Pp. 310. (\$1.50)

THE scope and purpose of this volume from the able pen of the Provincial Archivist of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate at Edmonton is to be found in its sub-title, "Les missionnaires du Nord-Ouest pendant les troubles de 1885." Reverend Father LeChevallier has told the story of the Saskatchewan insurrection from the point of view of the Roman Catholic missionaries. As far as possible he has based his narrative on manuscript materials drawn from Church archives and has supplemented them from primary printed sources including Canadian government publications. He has carefully combed the archives of his Order not only in Western Canada but also in the Mother House at Uccles, Belgium. At Rome he was privileged to consult a number of manuscripts which dealt with the stirring events of 1885.

In his *Avant-Propos* Father LeChevallier modestly disclaims any intention of writing a definitive history of what might be termed the "Eighty-Five." "Loin de moi de prétendre faire l'histoire complète du mouvement envisagé sous tous ses aspects! Dans ces pages je ne vise surtout qu'à mettre en relief l'attitude énergétique des missionnaires du pays pendant chacune des phases de cette période agitée."

On the whole the author has realized his purpose and has given us a connected narrative, based on careful research, of the activities of the Oblate Fathers in the North West Territories during the troubles of 1885. He divides his story into four parts "L'Agitation," "Le Soulèvement," "La Répression," and "Les Tristesses de l'Après-Guerre." He shows how the unfortunate dispute over the surveys enraged the Métis and how the Plains Crees reacted to the loss of their lands and their hunting grounds. Although repeatedly warned, the federal government took no action. At first the English-speaking half-bloods and even some of the new settlers were inclined to support the Métis and the Crees and agreed to invite Riel to return from Montana to lead the movement of protest against the government.

The plots, the rising of the Métis and the Indians, the massacres and the siege of Battleford are recounted in detail, but the backbone of the narrative is the story of the Roman Catholic missionary priests and nuns. The author makes it clear that the missionaries strove for peace and attempted to prevent the revolt of the Métis. They did not approve of Riel and they heartily opposed his religious vagaries. Three Oblate priests, Fathers Moulin, Végreville, and Fourmond, publicly withstood Riel and denounced his new faith, the *Vieille Romaine*. None the less the Oblates did not approve of Riel's execution. They considered him insane.

For a time during the battle of Batoche the priests and nuns were literally between two fires. Metaphorically the phrase might apply to the position of the Oblate Fathers throughout the insurrection. They felt keenly the disaffection of the Métis, but even more keenly some of the actions of the soldiers, and they were opposed to the stern measures employed after the suppression of the revolt. The insurrection left a wound in the West which was slow to heal. From the missionaries' point of view the bitterest fruit was the hostile attitude of some of the Métis towards the Catholic faith.

In several passages the writing is very graphic, e.g. the terror at Lac La Biche (pp. 147-52), and the abandoning of Saint Laurent (pp. 177-83). The author's heroes are obviously Bishop Grandin and Father André. Father André's unfortu-

nate, undated note to Riel, probably from Prince Albert, is clearly shown to have been relatively unimportant and quite unworthy of the censure bestowed upon it by Sir Hector Langevin (pp. 282-4).

Father LeChevallier is rather severe on some of the earlier writers on the outbreak of 1885, but he commends Professor George Stanley's *The Birth of Western Canada*. One cannot help feeling that the author's devotion to his subject and to his cause has perhaps led him at times to overstate his case. It is unfortunate that the volume has no index. It would have added greatly to its usefulness.

W. N. SAGE

The University of British Columbia.

Religion and the State: The Making and Testing of an American Tradition. By EVARTS B. GREENE. New York: New York University Press. 1941. Pp. viii, 172. (\$2.75)

THIS is a useful survey of a subject which is more complicated than is often thought. Beginning with an outline of Old World theories of Church and State, prior to the American settlements, Professor Greene traces the development of American doctrine and practice respecting this question down to the "monkey trial" and the recent refusal of citizenship to those who declined, through religious scruples, to swear to "defend" the Constitution of the United States. He makes it clear that the problem of Church and State in America was not, as is so generally supposed, solved at a single blow—if, indeed, it has ever been conclusively solved at all. In a valuable chapter on the Revolutionary settlement he points out that separation of Church and State was not achieved instantaneously or universally at that time, but was left to the disposition of the various states; and that in the case of Massachusetts the process was not complete until 1833. Even then, religion remained as a source of many legal and political complications throughout the nineteenth century and down to our own times; and the problem has been, and is, particularly troublesome in the field of education. Mr. Greene also makes the important observation that the separation of Church and State in America "has not prevented recognition by state and federal governments of religion *per se* as a desirable part of the social order" (p. 96).

Apart from exposing the complexity of Church-State relationships in America, this work is principally valuable as a handbook. Very compactly, Mr. Greene has covered a vast range of material, and touched on every salient feature of his theme; but it was of course impossible in so slim a volume to deal thoroughly or profoundly with any phase of the subject. Moreover, even so objective a summary was bound to be in a sense one-sided. Despite the inclusion of statements of Church doctrine, it is really the State theory of the Church which occupies the author, and Church theory of the State is treated only as a factor in the political problem. One should therefore not look in this volume for much light on the internal nature of various Christian political theories, or on the problems which have confronted the Churches, as distinct from the State, in the process of adjustment to modern political conditions. It is of course a significant fact in itself that from the eighteenth century the balance of interest in this whole question has shifted from the side of theology to that of secular politics.

Good bibliographical notes are appended.

N. F. LANGFORD

Magnetawan, Ontario.

Indians of the Americas: Historical Pageant. By EDWIN R. EMBREE. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1939. Pp. xii, 260, 66 illustrations. (\$2.75)

SOME knowledge of the Indians is essential both to teachers of history and to research workers concerned with exploration and settlement in the New World, but information concerning the aborigines—and there is an extensive literature on the subject—has largely been compiled by anthropologists, whose background, point of view, and interests are not those of historians. The details of daily life, the social and religious beliefs and practices, the basis of native economy, the dependence upon tools of stone, are all themes essential to an understanding of the Indian, but the historian's training does not help him to grasp their significance. An anthropologist deals with these subjects according to his own "slant"; he sees their relevance in the light of his own field experience in a non-European culture, and his conclusions are based upon the techniques of his own science. It follows that many scholarly anthropological treatises are not fully appreciated by workers in other branches of social science. It is to be hoped that Embree's *Indians of the Americas* will not fall into any such limbo. Perhaps its first qualification is that the author is not a professional anthropologist, but an experienced and thoroughly scientific sociologist, if indeed he can be placed in any of the customary pigeon-holes of classification. As president of the Rosenwald Foundation, his work has been in the field of cultural, racial, and educational interactions in the East Indies, in Asia, in the southern United States, and among the Indians. Primarily concerned with modern problems of adjustment, he realizes that these can be understood (and no solution is possible without understanding) only through their history. Embree's own sub-title, "Historical Pageant," sums up his approach. He sees the Indian of today in the light of what he was four hundred years ago, and what has since happened to him, and he presents this picture directly and simply, with sympathy and understanding, and always with scientific accuracy.

Embree begins with a colourful description of the landing of Columbus, as it must have appeared to the natives. He closes with a chapter on the Indians of today, a minority group in White America, living as wards of the government on remnants of their ancient land, their culture swept aside by the onrush of the modern industrial world. The implications of this tremendous change, fit subject for a social historian, are never forgotten in the intervening chapters. The author recognizes, and indeed uses, the standard anthropological classifications based on linguistics, physical characteristics, and culture areas, but his technique is to describe samples rather than to be all-inclusive. His selections include the Maya and Aztec of Mexico, the Incas of Peru, the Iroquois, and the Indians of the Plains and the South-West. By this limitation of the field, each chapter is long enough to give a picture of life in the area, rather than a mere catalogue of traits of culture. To supplement his own experience and reading, the author has called upon leading anthropologists to check over the details of each section; the accuracy of the volume is, therefore, above question, but its primary value is in selection and method of presentation, not in the recapitulation of data. Embree never forgets that he is describing human beings and their activities, and he never allows this theme to be lost in scientific jargon. His lucid descriptions are well supported by excellent drawings which show imagination based upon scientific knowledge, the same virtues that are shown in the text. This volume deserves to be used by all historians whose field includes the contact of White and Indian.

T. F. McILWRAITH

The Royal Ontario Museum.

Feathers in a Dark Sky. By RAY WILCOX. Woodstock, N.Y.: Woodstock Press. 1941. Pp. 223. (\$2.50)

ALTHOUGH the author's purpose has been to present an authentic factual narrative history of the Iroquois from the earliest times, he adheres closely to his stated aim only in the earlier chapters in which an account of the origin of the Indians in general, and of the Iroquois in particular, is followed by a most cursory, and not in every instance accurate, sketch of the Five Nations in their great seventeenth-century expansive phase, and by several chapters summarizing various aspects of their culture; all of which, although based upon such standard works as those of Parkman, Colden, and Morgan, suffers from the author's apparent neglect of recent illuminating monographs and papers by Fenton, Hunt, Parker, and others. For, as the work progresses towards and through its central theme, namely, that of the behaviour of the League of the Iroquois during the War of Independence, the emphasis is shifted from the Indians themselves to the activities of those who, like Sullivan and his military force, moved against them. Instead of mentally standing behind the Indian lines and describing their defence of their homeland, the author recounts the troop movements, the orders of march, the routes taken, the problems of supply, and the names of the leading men and units of the Continental Army that raided the Indian territory, in rather too much detail for so small a book purporting to be a study of the Iroquois. Likewise, the story of the aftermath of the war reveals too much of the white settlers moving in, is far too profusely peppered with names of individuals that can have at best only an antiquarian interest, and contains too little of the Indian attempt to withstand the tide of migration into lands that were obtained by all kinds of chicanery. Nevertheless, in spite of the occasionally dubious ethnology and historical inaccuracy, the unwarrantable shift of emphasis away from the Indians, and the often unnecessary detail, the author has produced an introductory sketch for the general reader, rather than for the specialist, which is singularly free from prejudice, and which reveals a sympathetic attitude towards a distinguished people who were not always treated like human beings in the time of their great trial.

A. G. BAILEY

The University of New Brunswick.

Klee Wyck. By EMILY CARR. With a foreword by IRA DILWORTH. Illustrated by the author. London, Toronto, New York: Oxford University Press. 1941. Pp. xiv, 155. (\$2.50)

THE chief difficulty about this book is that it is much too short! The reader opens it, reads the first sketch, settles down eagerly, avidly turns page after page, and then, lo! the thing is finished—and leaves one ever so desirous to know more about the strange adventures of Miss Carr among the West Coast Indians. Of course, that is the ideal, but here is an occasion where the ideal is not at all to be desired!

The dust jacket describes *Klee Wyck*. It is a series of sketches written while Miss Carr was painting the totems and villages of the British Columbia Indians. By fish boat, by mail boat, by Indian canoe, accompanied by her dog, Miss Carr went up and down the Coast sketching and making notes. She knew how to laugh in the face of danger and in the proximity of discomfort, so Hiwi the old chief called her *Klee Wyck*, which being translated means "The Laughing One."

There are four full-page paintings in the book, in well-reproduced colour. The pen sketches number twenty-one, and are marked by humour, pathos, and

awareness not only of the fundamental characteristics of the Indians themselves but also of the basic elements of humanity in general. Miss Carr sees the universal in the particular with that vivid penetration which fires the reader. A copy of her book should be in every Canadian home where parents want to arouse in their children a sense of the complexity and vastness of Canada. If plans are not afoot to publish more of Miss Carr's writings, illustrated by her own work, they should be!

CHARLES CLAY

Ottawa.

Libraries in Canada, 1938-40. (Being Part III of the *Biennial Survey of Education in Canada, 1938-40.*) Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics. 1941. Pp. 39. (35c.)

THIS publication deserves particular notice in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW because it contains a special feature in the information collected from public libraries in response to the question, "To what extent does the library attempt to collect historical records of the local community for preservation?"

The replies cannot give a complete picture of exactly what is being done. The library which reports, "We haven't done much along this line except that we have some old files of local papers" may be preserving many more valuable records than the library which is doing "as much as possible." Nevertheless, the replies leave the reader with the impression that more records are being preserved than might be expected. Certainly no librarians seemed surprised that the question was asked. Nearly all said that they were trying to do something or were aware that another local agency, such as the Women's Institute, a local historical society, the provincial library or archives, or a university library, was.

Some librarians bind the local newspaper while others do not attempt to collect more than the books and pamphlets which appear in their community. In many such cases a book or two is the sum total of the collection. Newspaper clippings seem to be the most commonly preserved record, and several librarians keep scrap-books of historical articles which appear in the local newspapers. This is a worthwhile effort and recognizes the important contribution that many local newspapers are making to the recording of local history. The newspaper press of Canada is constantly issuing a stream of historical articles, obituaries, and descriptions of vanishing landmarks, etc., which should be preserved. A few newspaper series have been reprinted in book form but in most cases the scrap-book seems to be the only way in which these records can be kept.

From the replies certain conclusions may be drawn. There is local historical material available. Most libraries and historical societies consider its preservation worthwhile and are making an effort to save some records, but there is no general policy nor is there any way at present in which these institutions can be aided or advised. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics is to be congratulated on having brought the matter up for investigation. The very asking of the question may have stimulated interest but some means should be found to develop the work already being done.

JAMES J. TALMAN

The University of Western Ontario.

THE PREPARATION OF THE LIST OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS AND THE FORTHCOMING DECENNIAL INDEX

THE List of Recent Publications printed in each issue of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW is a continuation of the enterprise begun by Professor Wrong in 1896 when he founded the annual *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada*. With the establishment of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW in 1920 the List of Recent Publications was begun by the editor, Mr. W. S. Wallace, in what is essentially its present form. In 1930 the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW became a publication of the University of Toronto Press, and the bibliography in recent years has been prepared by the Editorial Department of the Press under the direction of Mrs. A. W. B. Hewitt. Since 1930 this work has been greatly extended and enlarged by the beginning of two other bibliographies: the "List of Current Publications" published quarterly by the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, and the annual survey of "Letters in Canada" in the *University of Toronto Quarterly*. Each of these three bibliographies is published with a view to the interests of its particular journal, but the three are integrated, and together they are intended to cover, with no more than a desirable degree of overlapping, the whole range of the social sciences and literature in Canada. A fourth list which completes this bibliographical survey has been prepared annually since 1925 for the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW by Professor T. F. McIlwraith of the Royal Ontario Museum. Professor McIlwraith's bibliography, the current instalment of which appears in this issue, covers the field of Canadian ethnology, anthropology, and archaeology.

In so large an enterprise it is necessary to draw help from as many quarters as possible, and with this in view it has seemed desirable to print the following explanation which has been prepared by the Editorial Office. This explanation of the method of compiling the List of Recent Publications may enable those who use it to judge its reliability and limitations; and will, it is hoped, encourage them to suggest methods by which it may be improved and to offer assistance to that end.

Books and pamphlets. Titles are collected from many and varied sources. (1) The review and bibliographical sections of two to three hundred periodicals are regularly examined. (2) Publishers' catalogues are regularly and automatically received. (3) Review sections of the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, the *Winnipeg Free Press*, the *Vancouver Province*, the *Montreal Gazette*, the *New York Times*, and the *Times Literary Supplement* are searched. (4) Letters are sent out annually by the *University of Toronto Quarterly* to approximately two thousand Canadian writers asking for lists of their publications during the year (including papers and articles). (5) Valuable assistance is received from *The Canadian Catalogue of Books published in Canada, about Canada, as well as those written by Canadians*, published annually by the Reference Division of the Toronto Public Libraries. (The Reference Division is very generous in the help it gives us during the year from its current *Catalogue*, and when the annual *Catalogue* is published, in May or June of the next year, we recheck our bibliographies with the published volume. The Reference Division finds the REVIEW's bibliography of considerable use, so that the arrangement is one of reciprocal assistance.) (6) Information is received from the editors and editorial boards of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, and the *University of Toronto Quarterly*; and also from such interested people as Dr. H. A. Innis, Dr. J. H. Elliott

(Professor of the History of Medicine in the University of Toronto, who for some ten years has watched the medical periodicals for historical books and articles), Professor Fred Landon and Dr. J. J. Talman (of the University of Western Ontario Library, who keep us notified of local material on Western Ontario), His Honour Judge F. W. Howay (of New Westminster, B.C., who for at least twenty-five years has supplied information concerning material relating to the Pacific coast), Professor J. B. Brebner (of Columbia University), and Mr. W. S. Wallace (Librarian of the University of Toronto). (7) The University of Toronto Library has a standing order with M. G. Ducharme (French book-seller and library agent in Montreal) for important books and pamphlets published in French Canada. The Editorial Office is notified of each volume as soon as it is received by the Library. (8) The Editorial Office is on the mailing list of the various Archives and Museums in Canada, of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, the Canadian Welfare Council, etc. A number of Canadian publishers automatically send us their publications on Canada. Publications of all the historical societies in Canada (i.e., annual reports, papers, proceedings) are received by the REVIEW for its section of notes on historical societies.

We should appreciate more assistance of the kind given by Professor Landon, Judge Howay, etc., particularly in connection with local publications. It would also be most useful if we could make some arrangement with librarians in parliamentary or other libraries which subscribe to local newspapers, to watch the review sections of these papers for local material.

Articles. Over 250 periodicals¹ are regularly searched, and a record kept of the volumes that have been seen, so that eventually there are no gaps. If certain numbers are missing from the Library shelves or are in circulation when the current bibliography is being prepared, they are not tracked down at that time. We do not attempt to have a complete bibliography of the material in these periodicals up to date in each issue of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, but only of the material that was available when we compiled the bibliography. In the course of time the gaps are filled in. For reasons of economy it is impossible to search weekly and daily papers and trade journals. It would be most helpful if specialists in various subjects would notify us of important articles in such papers and journals.

Government publications. The list of the King's Printer in Ottawa was received regularly and checked until it apparently ceased publication about a year ago. It was almost impossible, however, to differentiate new from old publications. The provincial governments do not publish regular lists of their publications. The Editorial Office receives the publications of the Provinces of Ontario and British Columbia and occasional publications from the other provinces. It would be of great assistance if we could be placed on the mailing list of all the provincial governments. The list of government publications in the *Ontario Library Review* is searched but this list is not complete. The extensive list in the *Canada Year Book* is, of course, not available during the current year. It is in connection with government publications that the greatest difficulty is experienced in compiling our bibliographies. The issue of a monthly list of new publications by the King's Printer would be of the greatest value to bibliographers and librarians throughout Canada.

Arrangements have recently been made to receive accession lists from various

¹A mimeographed list will be sent on request.

government and business libraries, such as: The Dominion Bureau of Statistics, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Mines and Resources, the Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada, the Bank of Canada, the Royal Bank of Canada. We hope that other libraries will shortly be added to this list.

The Decennial Index. A word should be said here with regard to the decennial index for the years 1930-9 which is now in an advanced stage of preparation and which it is expected will be published next autumn. This volume will be an author and subject index not only for articles and reviews which have been printed in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW but also for the Lists of Recent Publications, which have run to well over one thousand titles annually. Three earlier decennial indexes have been published, two for the annual *Review of Historical Publications* and one for the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW for the years 1920-9. A few copies of these indexes are still available at the University of Toronto Press. Together, the four indexes will provide a key to Canadian historical and related materials from 1896 to 1939.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

PREPARED BY THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

(Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—Bulletin des recherches historiques; C.H.R.—CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW; C.J.E.P.S.—Canadian journal of economics and political science.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

COMSTOCK, ALZADA. *Tests for British imperial unity* (Current history, I(6), Feb., 1942, 512-16). The recent stresses and strains of adversity have not weakened the bonds of commonwealth.

II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

ALEXANDER, J. B. *Canada and the United States* (Canadian Credit Institute bulletin no. 115, Dec., 1941, 1-8).

BREBNER, J. B. *A decade of collaboration* (Think, VII (9), Canadian National Exhibition no., 1941, 27, 86-7). Points out the great value of the studies of Canadian-American relationships carried on under the patronage of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace during the last ten years.

BURPEE, LAWRENCE J. *The democratic way* (Think, VII (9), Canadian National Exhibition no., 1941, 26, 94). Origin of the International Joint Commission, which for nearly thirty years "has dealt with a wide variety of questions affecting the interests of Americans and Canadians."

Canada, Dominion of. *Report of the Secretary of State of Canada for year ended March 31, 1941*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1941. Pp. 46. (10c.)

The future of the Foreign Service (Round table, no. 125, Dec., 1941, 47-64). Contains a section on the diplomatic representation of the Dominions.

MACKINNON, JAMES A. *Canada and South America* (Industrial Canada, XLII (8), Dec., 1941, 55-9). Extracts from an address made by the Minister of Trade and Commerce to the Canadian Manufacturers' Association upon his return from South America.

MADDOX, WILLIAM P. *Canadian-American defense planning*. (Foreign policy reports, Nov. 15, 1941.) New York: Foreign Policy Association, Inc. 1941. Pp. 210-20. (25c.)

MOFFAT, PIERREPONT. "*Based on mutual trust and good will*" (Think, VII (9), Canadian National Exhibition no., 1941, 25, 77). The development of Canadian-American relations.

PERKINS, DEXTER. *Bringing the Monroe Doctrine up to date* (Foreign affairs, XX (2), Jan., 1942, 253-65). Points out how greatly the scope of the Doctrine has been extended in recent years and that "the application of Monroe's great tenet to Canada is one of the most striking developments."

Statement concerning establishment of permanent joint board on defence by Canada and United States of America, 18 August, 1940 (Times, [London], 19 Aug., 1940; Bulletin of international news, vol. XVII, 1140).

VILLARD, O. G. *Our trade barriers with Canada* (American mercury, Dec., 1941, 723-9). A customs union will contribute more to a united Canadian-American front than joint defence commissions.

WALLACE, A. H. *Canadian-United States relations* (Canadian banker, XLIX (1), Oct., 1941, 65-72). A study of the development of those relations from the seventeenth century to the Ogdensburg Agreement.

WATT, C. D. *A chance for continental integration* (Canadian forum, XXI (253), March, 1942, 376-7). Considers that the reality of wartime co-operation between the United States and Canada is not as complete, taking the long view, as is the appearance.

WOODSWORTH, CHARLES J. *Canada and the far east* (Far eastern survey, July 28, 1941).

III. CANADA AND THE WAR

BAKER, P. J. *Canada, war, and the U.S.A.* (Canadian business, XV (1), Jan., 1942, 46-8). An expression of views on the effect of American entry into the war on Canada.

BÉLANGER, MARCEL. *Inquiétude dans la guerre* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, XI (4), oct.-déc., 1941, 411-39). The questioning and anxiety in the mind of a French Canadian facing the World War.

CAHAN, C. H. *Will voluntary service suffice?* (Labour review, V (11), Nov., 1941, 177-9). Discusses the issue of conscription.

Canada. I. *Canadian defence*. II. *Transformations since 1939* (Round table, no. 125, Dec., 1941, 137-48). An examination of the chief considerations of Canadian defence, the general unpreparedness before 1939, and the amazing transformation since that date.

Canada at war (Canadian engineer, Water and sewage, XLXIX (6), June, 1941, 26-7, 110-14, 116). The record of Canada's achievements in building up a war machine in a period of twenty-one months.

Canada Dept. of Munitions and Supply. *Record of contracts awarded for month of August, 1941, with amendments to previous records*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1941. Pp. 443. (50c.)

Canada, Director of Public Information. *Canada and the war series. An address to the Houses of Parliament by the Right Hon. WINSTON CHURCHILL, December 30, 1941*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 11.

Canada and the war series. *War on all continents*. 1. *Declaration of the existence of a state of war between Canada and Hungary, Roumania and Finland*. 2. *Declaration of the existence of a state of war between Canada and Japan*. 3. *Declaration of the existence of a state of war between the United States and Japan, Germany, and Italy*. Statements by W. L. MACKENZIE KING, Dec. 6, 8, and 11, 1941. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1941. Pp. 14.

Canada at war series. 10. Jan., 1942. 11. Feb., 1942. *Supplements to Booklet no. 9*. Ottawa: The Director. 1942. Pp. 24; 16. These pamphlets will henceforth be issued in supplement form, each fourth one to be completely revised and cumulative for the three preceding. The next cumulative revised issue will be that of April.

Canada, Dominion of. *Treaty series, 1942*. No. 1. *Declaration by United Nations done at Washington, Jan. 1, 1942; Related documents; Declaration of principles known as Atlantic Charter, . . . Aug. 14, 1941; Resolutions approving of Atlantic Charter . . . adopted at Inter-Allied meeting held in London, Sept. 24, 1941; also Tripartite Pact signed at Berlin, Sept. 27, 1940*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. 8. 25c.

Canada's war effort (Statist., CXXXVIII, July 26, 1941, 67-8).

Canada's war programme (Current notes on international affairs (Canberra), X, April 1, 1941, 149-52). An Australian summary.

CATHCART, GRAHAM. *The Indians of Canada and the war* (Empire review, LXXIV (491), Dec., 1941, 278-9).

COHEN, MAXWELL. *Canada and total war* (Yale review, XXXI (2), winter, 1942, 299-314). Analyses the impact of total war upon the national life and economy.

- Commonwealth leader speaks to Canadians* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIV (2), Feb., 1942, 72-9). Reprints Churchill's speech to the Canadian House of Commons on December 30, 1941, with accompanying pictures.
- CONRAD, HAROLD E. *Canada's all-out war effort* (Current history, I (3), Nov., 1941, 240-7).
- COWIE, DONALD. *How the Dominions fight* (Dalhousie review, XXI (4), Jan., 1942, 397-400). The Dominions have kept abreast of the times in this day of mechanized warfare, and have even led the way in some forms of military improvisation.
- CRABTREE, HAROLD. *Post-war reconstruction* (Industrial Canada, XLII (10), Feb., 1942, 55-7, 128). An address by the President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association to the Kiwanis Club of Montreal, Jan. 15, 1942.
- CURTIS, C. A. *The problem of war supply* (Canadian banker, XLIX (2), Jan., 1942, 171-82). Describes the functioning of the Department of Munitions and Supply, set up in April, 1940.
- Dominion of Canada Income War Tax Act, including excess profits tax and other related measures.* 1941 edition. Montreal, Toronto: Kingsland Co. 1941. Pp. 123. (\$1.25)
- DREW, GEORGE A. *Beat Hitler at his own game* (Maclean's magazine, LIV (24), Dec. 15, 1941, 12-13, 45-6, 48). Advocates the training of an "Attack Force" of Empire troops in Canada, and the formation of an Empire War Committee.
- FRANCIS, J. *The War Measures Act: A summary of the cases reported* (Canadian bar review, XIX (6), June, 1941, 453-64).
- FRASER, C. F. *Internment operations in Canada: Functional analysis* (Public affairs, V (2), winter, 1941, 62-7). A brief survey of internment procedure since September, 1939.
- GLENN, FERGUS. *Conscription—for what?* (Canadian forum, XXI (252), Jan., 1942, 306-9). Suggests certain questions honest and intelligent people should ask themselves before supporting compulsory overseas service.
- GRANT, E. A. *War economics in the Dominions* (Banker, LVIII, June, 1941, 53-6).
- HARVEY, JEAN-CHARLES. *French Canada at war.* (Macmillan war pamphlets, Canadian series.) Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1941. Pp. 26. (10c.) A brief pamphlet by a well known French-Canadian journalist.
- HOGG, THOMAS H. *Canadian engineers and the war* [abridged] (Engineering journal, XXIV (4), April, 1941, 168-9). An address delivered in Calgary, December 14, 1940.
- HORTON, E. A. *Government finance—Canada: Some comparisons between 1914-1918 and 1939* (Quarterly review of commerce, VIII (4), 1941, 304-11).
- HOWE, C. D. *Actual production* [report delivered to House of Commons, Nov. 4, 1941]. Ottawa: Director of Public Information. 1941. Pp. 34.
- LAURENDEAU, A. *Can Quebec veto the draft?* (Saturday night, Jan. 17, 1942, 7). Argues that conscription for overseas service would menace the existence of French Canada, and that therefore French Canada has the right to oppose it.
- MCDONALD, Brig.-Gen. H. F. *Veterans of the present war.* (Planning now for post-war problems.) 1941. Pp. 19. Ottawa: Director of Public Information. An address delivered before the Montreal Rotary Club on November 4, 1941.

MALLES, PAUL. *Scandinavia and the war: Canada's stake in northern Europe*. (Food for thought, II (6), Feb., 1942.) Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education. 1942. Pp. 6-14. (10c.) Considers that the Scandinavian situation has more significance for Canada than the Canadian public yet realizes.

Parliamentary reports on Canada's war effort, made by Ministers at recent session of Parliament. I. *Progress on war production* by C. D. HOWE. II. *Finances and control of cost of living* by J. L. ILSLEY. III. *Labour, wages and cost of living bonus* by N. A. McLARTY. IV. *The Canadian Army* by J. L. RALSTON. V. *The Canadian Navy* by A. L. MACDONALD. VI. *The Canadian Air Force* by C. G. POWER. VII. *War services* by J. T. THORSON (Industrial Canada, XLII (8), Dec., 1941, 79-98).

PLUMPTRE, A. F. W. *Mobilizing Canada's resources for war*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1941. Pp. xxiv, 306. (\$3.00) See p. 78.

PLUMPTRE, BERYL. *Educating the consumer in war-time* (Public affairs, V (2), winter, 1941, 70-4). A plea for better information from the government to the consumers as to the reasons for restrictions on the production of non-essential goods.

POLAK, H. S. L. *India, the war, and Canada*. (Food for thought series, II (4).) Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education. Dec., 1941. Pp. 8-15. (10c.) Summarizes the political situation in India, pointing out that India's constitutional position in this war is the same as Canada's in the last war. India's war effort is magnificent, but she is divided or uncertain as to whether the status she is to assume will be complete independence or dominion status within the Empire. Canada can do much to convince India that dominion status does not mean subordination but independence and real freedom, within the Commonwealth.

REYBURN, WALLACE. *Over there* (Maclean's magazine, LIV (23), Dec. 1, 1941, 7-8, 66-8). Describes the life and training of Canadian troops in England.

ROBERTS, LESLIE. *Why Quebec feels that way* (Saturday night, LVII (19), Jan. 17, 1942, 6). The Quebecers, like other Canadians, have not had it driven home to them sufficiently that this is a war for Canadian survival and freedom, and not a war in imperial support of Britain.

SAGE, WALTER D. M. *Canada in the second World War* (Clark University bulletin no. 155, Abstracts of dissertations and theses, XIII, 1941, 157-9).

SALLANS, G. H. *With Canada's fighting men*. Ottawa: Director of Public Information. 1941. Pp. 46. Mr. Sallans was the representative of the Vancouver *Sun* in the party of journalists taken on a tour of training establishments and war factories by the Government in September, 1941.

SCOTT, F. R. *Canadian nationalism and the war* (Canadian forum, XXI (253), March, 1942, 360-2). "Examples of our lack of policy, our semi-colonial position, confront us on every hand."

WRIGHT, KENNETH G. *Wings of adventure* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIII (6), Dec., 1941, 283-99). Describes the R.C.A.F. and the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan.

IV. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

Canadian National Exhibition Number (Think, VII (9), 1941, 100 pp.). This issue of the International Business Machines Company's monthly publication is devoted entirely to a survey of Canada. Short articles by various authorities are listed separately in this bibliography in their appropriate sections.

Christmas in the fur trade (Beaver, outfit 272, Dec., 1941, 18-22). Traces the history of the celebration of Christmas in the fur trade from the earliest days of the Hudson's Bay Company, basing the account on contemporary journals.

DOLCH, ISABEL S. *Some aspects of early Indian fur trade* (Missouri historical review, XXXVI (2), Jan., 1942, 190-8). Aspects of the trade which had its centre in the Missouri country and St. Louis.

MACKINNON, JAMES A. *The high purpose of commerce* (Think, VII (9), Canadian National Exhibition no., 1941, 30-1, 95). A general survey of what the pursuit of trade has accomplished for the Dominion.

WILSON, CLIFFORD. *Milestones in the progress of the Hudson's Bay Company* (Beaver, outfit 272, Dec., 1941, 27-34). Gives in terse, condensed fashion, with illustrations, the outstanding events in the history of the Company.

(2) Discovery and Exploration

The Northwest Coast: A century of personal narratives of discovery, conquest and exploration from Bering's landfall to Wilkes' surveys, 1741-1841. New York: Edward Eberstadt & Sons. [1941]. Pp. 127. A bibliography of voyages to the Northwest Coast, Russian, Spanish, British, French and American.

RASMUSSEN, LOUISE. *Artists with explorations on the Northwest Coast* (Oregon historical quarterly, XLII (4), Dec., 1941, 311-16). Notes on artists and pictures in connection with various voyages of discovery and exploration on the North-west Coast, including those of Cook, Meares, and Vancouver.

(3) New France

GROULX, LIONEL. *Denonville et les galériens iroquois* (Action universitaire, VII (8), avril, 1941, 6, 8-9, 12). Discusses the capture of a certain number of Iroquois near Fort Frontenac in 1690 and the fact that they were sent back to France to serve in the French galleys.

HAXO, HENRY E. (trans. and ed.). *The journal of La Vérendrye, 1738-39* (North Dakota historical quarterly, VIII (4), July, 1941, 229-71). A new translation of the La Vérendrye journal with notes, based on a photostatic copy of the journal used by Douglas Brynmor when preparing the first translation, which appeared in the Canadian archives *Report* for 1889.

HUBERT-ROBERT, RÉGINE. *L'Histoire merveilleuse de la Louisiane française: Chroniques des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles et de la cession aux Etats-Unis.* New York: Les Éditions de la Maison française, Inc., 610 Fifth Avenue. 1941. Pp. 374. (\$2.00) See p. 80.

LAUVRIÈRE, ÉMILE. *Histoire de la Louisiane française, 1673-1939.* (Romance Language series no. 3.) Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press. 1940. Pp. 445. (\$3.50) See p. 80.

TANGHE, RAYMOND. *Mission française* (Action universitaire, VIII (5), janv., 1942, 6, 12). Urges French Canada to carry on the cultural traditions of France.

(4) British North America before 1867

Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, VI, Jan., 1942. This issue consists almost entirely of extracts from the General Orders, broadsides and manuscripts pertaining to the expedition against Canada, organized in the spring of 1759, under the command of Major General Jeffrey Amherst.

DUNLOP, GEORGE A. and WILSON, C. P. *George Barnston* (Beaver, outfit 272, Dec., 1941, 16-17). Biography of this Scot who was in the Hudson's Bay Company service, 1820-1862, at posts all across Canada, from Fort Walla Walla on the Columbia to Tadoussac on the Saguenay.

Johnstone-Troup correspondence (New York history, XXIII (1), Jan., 1942, 57-68). Letters of Sir John Lowther Johnstone which touch on material concerning the Pulteney Purchase, English absentee landlordism, and the English attitude toward the approach of the War of 1812.

- KERR, W. B. *The maritime provinces of British North America and the American Revolution*. Sackville, N.B.: The Busy East Press. [1941.] Pp. iv, 172. To be reviewed later.
- NUTE, GRACE LEE. *Hudson's Bay Company posts in the Minnesota country* (Minnesota history, XXII (3), Sept., 1941, 270-89). Not until competition between the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company became most keen, did the latter build forts in the Minnesota country, far south of its normal field of operations.
- PARNELL, C. *Ballantyne the brave* (Beaver, outfit 272, Dec., 1941, 4-6). Describes the life of a young Scottish apprentice in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1841-8, at Norway House, York Factory, and at Tadoussac.
- SANDERSON, C. R. *Some notes on Lord Sydenham* (Bulletin of John Rylands Library, XXV, 1941, pp. 26). New light is thrown on Lord Sydenham and the Act of Union in the *Papers of Sir George Arthur*, lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, which are now in the possession of the Toronto Public Libraries.
- STOCK, LEO FRANCIS (ed.). *Proceedings and debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America*. Vol. V. 1739-1754. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1941. Pp. xxvi, 658. (\$3.50 paper cover; \$4.00 cloth) To be reviewed later.
- VAN DOREN, CARL. *Secret history of the American Revolution: An account of the conspiracies of Benedict Arnold and numerous others drawn from the secret service papers of the British Headquarters in North America now for the first time examined and made public*. New York: Viking Press [Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada]. 1941. Pp. xvi, 534. (\$4.50) To be reviewed later.
- WALLACE, W. S. *New light on Simon McTavish* (Beaver, outfit 272, Dec., 1941, 48-9). Hitherto unexamined documentary material reveals McTavish as a generous, kindly, sentimentalist, contrary to a common impression that he was haughty and domineering.
- (5) **The Dominion of Canada**
- BIGGAR, F. C. *Twin dollars* (Canadian banker, XLIX (2), Jan., 1942, 200-4; Think, VII (a), Canadian National Exhibition no., 1941, 39, 74-5). A brief study of currency systems in use on this continent from colonial times with a view to determining why both Canada and the United States adopted the decimal currency system with the dollar as the unit common to both countries.
- BOK, BART J. *John Stanley Plaskett, 1865-1941* (Science, XCIV (2446), Nov. 14, 1941, 453-5). An obituary on the director of the Dominion Astrophysical Observatory from its beginning in 1918 to his retirement in 1935.
- BOYLE, GEORGE. *Democracy's second chance: Land, work, and cooperation*. New York: Sheed and Ward. 1941. Pp. xiv, 177. (\$2.00) Contains a chapter on the Antigonish movement.
- Canada. III. *The future of world trade* (Round table, no. 125, Dec., 1941, 148-56). A study of the various conditions under which international trade will be resumed after the war and Canada's position in relation to them.
- Canada, Dept. of Labour. *Thirtieth annual report on labour organization in Canada (for calendar year 1940)*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1941. Pp. 247. (50c.)
- Canada, Dominion of. *Report of the Public Archives for the year 1941*. Edited by GUSTAVE LANCTOT. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1942. Pp. xxii, 313. (50c.) The important feature of the *Report* for 1941 is the continuation of the calendar of the Q series, which comprises the despatches, with enclosures, from the governor and lieutenant-governor of Upper and Lower Canada to the Colonial Office. The

calendar has already been brought down to 1838 for Lower Canada and 1836 for Upper Canada; but the series ends in 1841 for both provinces, and the gap of these last few important years has long remained unfilled. The work of calendaring was resumed in 1937 and is now complete; and the present *Report* contains the first instalment of the new calendar for Lower Canada from 1838 on. [D. G. CREIGHTON]

Canadian cities (Think, VII (9), Canadian National Exhibition no., 1941, 40-5, 84-5). Gives a brief outline of each of the principal cities of Canada.

CASSIDY, HARRY M. *Public welfare reorganization in Canada, I* (Public affairs, V (2), winter, 1941, 86-90). The two principal types of defect in the organization and administration of the welfare system are unsatisfactory provincial-municipal relations and poor administrative machinery. The author outlines in this and in Part II (to come) the six principles of reorganization that should be followed.

CHAPIN, MIRIAM. *French Canada is ready to co-operate* (Saturday night, LVII (22), Feb. 7, 1942, 24). "French Canada is ready and eager to co-operate in any measures to save the Dominion. She holds out her hand. Why not take it?"

CLARK, S. D. *The social development of Canada: An introductory study with select documents*. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1942. Pp. x, 484. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.

CLOKIE, H. McD. *Basic problems of the Canadian constitution* (C.J.E.P.S., VIII (1), Feb., 1942, 1-32). Reviews the usages and precedents relating to alterations in Canadian constitutional law.

The Committee on Reconstruction in Canada (International labour review, XLV (2), Feb., 1942, 170-1). A brief outline of its personnel and duties.

COOPER, JOHN IRWIN. *Sir Wilfrid Laurier and McGill* (McGill news, XXIII (2), winter, 1941, 13-14, 28). Glimpses of Laurier as a law student at McGill, 1861-4).

CORNER, H. C. (ed.). *Canadian almanac, and legal and court directory for 1942*. Toronto: Copp Clark Co. 1942. Pp. 724. (\$7.00)

CRABTREE, HAROLD. *The Dominion's industries* (Think, VII (9), Canadian National Exhibition no., 1941, 38, 72). Outlines the steady growth of Canada's manufactures since the 1870's.

CRERAR, T. A. *National parks* (Think, VII (9), Canadian National Exhibition no., 1941, 34-5, 76). "The policy of maintaining a system of national parks in Canada has never been more justified than at present."

CROSS, AUSTIN F. *Here's Humphrey* (Canadian business, XV (1), Jan., 1942, 26-9). An outline of the background of the new Minister of Labour, Humphrey Mitchell, and the problems he will have to face.

FORSEY, EUGENE. *Mr. King, Parliament, the constitution and labor policy* (Canadian forum, XXI (252), Jan., 1942, 296-8). "Mr. King's disregard of parliament in his war-time labor policy is, therefore, . . . the logical result of his very considerable success in setting aside the constitution whenever it got in his way."

GOBEIL, S. *Conservatives and province of Quebec* (Saturday night, Jan. 10, 1942, 6).

HAMBLETON, GEORGE. *Canada calling* (Canadian forum, XXI (252), Jan., 1942, 309-11). Deals with the important question of how Canada sends out her news.

HUTCHISON, BRUCE. *The unknown country: Canada and her people*. New York: Coward-McCann [Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co.]. 1942. Pp. x, 386. (\$4.50) To be reviewed later. See also note on p. 123.

KEIRSTEAD, B. S. *Canada's economic policy*. (Dalhousie University bulletins on public affairs, XI.) Toronto: Thos. Nelson & Sons Ltd. 1941. Pp. 31. (25c.)

- LALANDE, L. *Status of organized labour: Outline of development of law in Great Britain, United States and Canada* (Canadian bar review, XIX (9), Nov., 1941, 638-81).
- LANGLAIS, ANTONIO. *Précisions sur le droit de désaveu de la législation du parlement canadien* (Canada français, XXIX (4), déc., 1941, 246-9). A reply to the article by M. Léopold Richer in the November number of *Canada français* (see below).
- LASKIN, BORA. *Collective bargaining in Canada: In peace and in war*. (Food for thought series, II (3).) Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education. Nov., 1941. Pp. 8-17. (10c.) "The legislative position of the government on the fundamentals of industrial democracy, freedom to organize and the assured right of collective bargaining, can only be characterized as anachronistic."
- LEMAN, BEAUDRY. *Réflexions sur le rapport Rowell-Sirois* (Actualité économique, 17e année (2), déc., 1941, 119-37).
- MACDERMOT, H. E. *Maude Abbott: A memoir*. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1941. Pp. xiv, 264. (\$2.50) Maude Abbott was one of the first women doctors in Canada and one among the few Canadian doctors who have achieved international prominence.
- MACDONALD, HENRY BAYNE. *The Conservative revival* (Saturday night, LVII (23), Feb. 14, 1942, 20). Believes that the revival of the Conservative party is greatly needed to uphold "internationalism" (i.e. British Commonwealth of Nations) against the "Americanism" of the Liberals.
- Meighen redivivus* (Canadian forum, XXI (252), Jan., 1942, 293-5). A critical examination of Mr. Meighen's past record.
- MOONEY, GEORGE S. *Our cities—their role in the national economy* (Engineering journal, XXIV (8), Aug., 1941, 394-8). Within forty years Canada has been transformed from a primarily rural to a primarily urban domain.
- NICHOL, F. W. *Canada's great destiny* (Think, VII (9), Canadian National Exhibition no., 1941, 36, 90-1). Sees striking manifestations of how the Dominion is working toward fulfilment of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's prediction.
- RICHER, LÉOPOLD. *Le droit de désaveu du parlement impérial* (Canada français, XXIX (3), nov., 1941, 161-5). The author maintains that articles 56 and 57 of the British North America Act should be abrogated.
- Royal Commission to inquire into events at Arvida, P.Q., in July, 1941. *Report of the Commissioners*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1941. Pp. 13.
- SCOTT, F. R. *A decade of League for Social Reconstruction* (Saturday night, LVII (20), Jan. 17, 1941, 8). Outlines the hopes, successes, and achievements of the League from its inception in 1932 in its programme of "social planning for Canada."
- SHAPIRO, L. S. B. *Is Canada really a nation?* (Saturday night, LVII (22), Feb. 7, 1942, 11). "Our national consciousness is slow-witted and unenthusiastic, . . . perhaps we are merely a series of communities."
- SHEPHERD, S. A. *Canada's travel problem* (Canadian banker, XLIX (2), Jan., 1942, 205-12). Discusses the interrelationship between the tourist trade and foreign exchange, and the necessity of encouraging the first in order to increase the second.
- Symposium. *On the eastern seaboard* by GWEN SHAND; *La vieille province* by ANONYME; *In Upper Canada* by B. W. HEISE; *On the prairie lands* by E. J. LAWSON; *On the western coast* by G. DAVIDSON; *Yukon and The Territories* by J. E. LAYCOCK (Canadian welfare, XVII (7), Jan.-Feb., 1942, 16-35). A survey of social conditions across the country.
- TRUDEL, GENEST. *Une étape dans l'évolution du statut international du Canada* (Action

universitaire, VII (8, 9), avril, mai, 1941, 13-17, 11-16). Incidents relating to the signing of the treaty in 1926 between Canada and the United States for the protection of the halibut fisheries.

TWEEDSMUIR, Lady. *Canada*. Published for Penns in the Rocks Press by William Collins, 1941. Pp. 48. (\$1.25) This little book is one of a series entitled "The British Commonwealth in Pictures." As the general title implies, the volume is profusely illustrated with reproductions of engravings, woodcuts, water colour and oil paintings and photographs, depicting some of the personalities and incidents of Canadian history, as well as some of its industries and scenic features. Lady Tweedsmuir contributes a brief essay, the first part of which contains a survey of Canadian history, with special attention to the French régime and the early period of British rule. [D. G. CREIGHTON]

VALLÉE, ARTHUR. *Ernest Lapointe* (Action universitaire, VIII (4), déc., 1941, 5). An obituary notice.

WILLMOT, H. E. *Canada* (Canadian engineer, LXXIX (6), June, 1941, 29, 118). An outline for American readers of her history, government, industrial growth, relations with the United States.

Young Men's Committee, National Council, Y.M.C.A. *We discuss Canada: Study outlines on Canadian problems*. (Live and learn pamphlets.) 1942. Pp. x, 69. (75c.) These discussion outlines were prepared in a form which has made it possible for the authors to present useful and pertinent information about the questions they have raised. Seven topics of current importance in Canadian affairs have been outlined for study. Suggestions for additional reading are included, together with the names of organizations, such as the Canadian Association for Adult Education, which are ready to help groups in the study of these problems. [R. G. RIDDELL]

(6) The Great War

DUMOUCHEL, JEAN. *Le Canada au cabinet impérial de guerre* (Actualité économique, 17e année (7), oct., 1941, 456-66). Discusses the important points in connection with the three sessions of the Imperial War Cabinet, one of which was held in 1917 and two in 1918.

— *Le Canada en marche vers son status international: de 1914 au Cabinet de guerre (1917)* (Actualité économique, 17e année (3, 4), juin-juillet, 1941, 220-40). Discusses events leading up to the constitution of the Imperial War Cabinet.

V. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

BATTERSBY, KENNETH ARTHUR. *Land use and economy of Prince Edward Island* (Clark University bulletin no. 155, Abstracts of dissertations and theses, XIII, 1941, 97-101). An abstract of a thesis relating the character of land use and economy to historical, social, economic, and political aspects of life on Prince Edward Island.

BEZANSON, W. B. *Stories of Acadia*. (Birch Bark series, part IV.) Rockingham, Nova Scotia: The author. 1941. Pp. 57. Six attractively written stories are here included. Professor D. C. Harvey, the Archivist of Nova Scotia, contributes a well-merited foreword, which says in part: "Mr. Bezanson's *Birch Bark Tales* have already become so well known that no introduction is necessary or likely to attract more attention to them than their own past reputation. However, it should be said that this Fourth Series maintains the standard of the first three and by clothing with imagination several historical facts or legends, enriches our knowledge of romantic history and of humanistic geography."

FORSEY, HARRIET ROBERTS. *Distribution of income in the Maritimes* (Canadian forum, XXI (253), Feb., 1942, 332-3). Considers the relative apportionment of Maritime province income, before, during, and since the depression, among various groups of the population.

PATTERSON, GEORGE. *More studies in Nova Scotian history*. Halifax: Imperial Publishing Company. 1941. Pp. 180. (\$2.00 cloth; \$1.50 paper) See p. 86.

(2) The Province of Quebec

BOIS, H. C. *What is this "Québec fédérée" we hear about?* (Country life in B.C., Nov., 1941, 19).

BREBNER, J. B. *Soyons nous-mêmes?* (Canada français, XXIX (4), déc., 1941, 253-60). Mr. Brebner suggests that French Canada abandon its defensive attitude and assume an offensive position by developing its talents and native energy to the full.

CARON, MAXIMILIEN. *Les institutions politiques* (Actualité économique, 17e année (2), déc., 1941, 138-55). Discusses political institutions in Quebec in relation to the British North America Act.

Conventions et congrès canadiens au Canada et aux Etats-Unis (B.R.H., XLVIII (2), fév., 1942, 54-60). List of French-Canadian conventions and congresses beginning in 1880 and continuing to 1933.

DESJARDINS, G.-A. *Le cimetière au Gros-Pin de Charlesbourg* (B.R.H., XLVIII (1), janv., 1942, 28-30). Notes concerning this cemetery founded near Quebec in 1847.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *L'ameublement à Montréal aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (B.R.H., XLVIII (2), fév., 1942, 33-42). List of common articles of furniture and household utensils in use in Montreal at this time.

MINVILLE, ROSAIRE. *Notes sur le puits de Wolfe à Québec* (B.R.H., XLVIII (1), janv., 1942, 3-12). Stories concerning the well on the Plains of Abraham from which Wolfe was said to have drunk at the time of his death.

PÉRUSSE, MAURICE. *Joseph Bouchette et son œuvre* (Actualité économique, 17e année, (5, 6), août-sept., 1941, 354-64). In his best known work, *Description topographique de la Province du Bas-Canada*, Joseph Bouchette (1774-1841) urges that the natural resources of the province be developed to the fullest extent possible.

ROBERTS, LESLIE. *Why Quebec feels that way* (Saturday night, Jan. 17, 1942, 6).

TANGHE, RAYMOND. *Le facteur humain* (Actualité économique, 17e année (2), déc., 1941, 101-18). Population statistics in the province of Quebec.

(3) The Province of Ontario

HOWEY, FLORENCE R. *Pioneering on the C.P.R.* Ottawa: Mutual Press Ltd., 230 Laurier Avenue West. 1938. Pp. 142. (\$1.25) This is an unpretentious but interesting book of reminiscences. Mrs. Howey's husband was one of the doctors employed by the Canadian Pacific Railway to provide medical care for its employees during the construction of the transcontinental line. Mrs. Howey arrived at what was to become the town of Sudbury in the early spring of 1883, and her memories cover the history of the settlement during the early days of railway construction. She apparently began the composition of her little book at the age of seventy-seven; but her memory of the events of those far-off days was evidently very clear and the style is simple, direct, and lively. [D. G. CREIGHTON]

LANDON, FRED. *Western Ontario and the American frontier*. (Relations of Canada and the United States, a series of studies prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History; J. T. Shotwell, director.) Toronto: Ryerson Press; New Haven: Yale University Press. 1941. Pp. xviii, 305. (\$3.50) See p. 76.

(4) The Prairie Provinces

Co-operative Union of Canada, Saskatchewan Section. *Annual convention, 1941, Report*. Regina. 1941. Pp. 31 (mimeo.). Contains reports of discussions on

operating practices, interest on share capital, legislation, Workmen's Compensation Act, films, study groups, and articles on "Let's build co-operatives to distribute abundance and bring about a new way of life," etc.

FERGUSON, G. V. *The Prairie Provinces* (Think, VII (9), Canadian National Exhibition no., 1941, 51-72). Colonization and development of the Canadian North-west in the past fifty years.

MORRIS, J. L. *Old Fort Garry in 1881 and 1939* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIV (1), Jan., 1942, 52-5). Memories of early days in the West.

STUBBS, R. ST. G. *Men in khaki: Four regiments of Manitoba*. With a foreword by the Hon. J. T. THORSON. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1941. Pp. xii, 72. (\$1.00) These informal accounts of the history of four Manitoba regiments were published originally as newspaper articles. They are brief chronological sketches of military units which were in existence before the last war, and two of which first saw service in the North West Rebellion. The oldest, the Royal Winnipeg Rifles, bears with pride a name given to its members by Indian followers of Riel in 1885, "Little Black Devils." All four of the regiments are lengthening the record of their service in the present war. [R. G. RIDDELL]

(5) British Columbia and the North-west Coast

BARROW, FRANCIS J. *Petroglyphs and pictographs on the British Columbia coast* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIV (2), Feb., 1942, 94-102). Describes the results of several summer cruises of searching and studying the carvings and paintings on the rocks of the British Columbia coast up to Mackenzie Sound.

HAGUE, R. *B.C.'s Jap controversy* (Saturday night, LVII (17), Jan. 3, 1942, 6).

LUCE, P. W. *Life goes on for British Columbia's Japanese* (Saturday night, LVII (18), Jan. 10, 1942, 9).

ROBINSON, Mrs. LEIGH BURPEE. *To British Columbia's totem land: Expedition of Dr. Powell in 1873* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIV (2), Feb., 1942, 80-93). Describes the first voyage of Dr. I. W. Powell after being appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to investigate troubles among the Indians of the north Pacific Coast.

WAITES, K. A. (ed.). *The first fifty years: Vancouver high schools, 1890-1940*. [Vancouver. 1942]. Pp. 160. Ill. (\$1.25) This book is an excellent addition to the growing body of local history relating to British Columbia. Its principal aim is to recount the story behind the golden jubilee of secondary education in the city of Vancouver and in this connection the development implicit in the expansion from sixteen scholars in 1872 to 40,000 scholars in 1940 is well retold. Much careful information is given concerning the participants in the events recounted. The chief emphasis is upon the history of the mother of high schools—King Edward High School—but the story is rounded out by the inclusion of short histories of all existing high schools. Deserving of particular mention is the illustrative material used. No other recent book gives as inclusive and satisfactory a pictorial record of the phenomenal development so characteristic of western cities like Vancouver. [WILLARD E. IRELAND]

Whitman material in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives (Pacific northwest quarterly, XXXIII (1), Jan., 1942, 59-64). Letters and extracts relating to Dr. Marcus Whitman, transcribed from the records of Forts Vancouver and Nez Percés (Walla Walla) in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company in London. The transcripts were made for Dr. Clifford Merrill Drury, who made them available for publication in the *Quarterly*.

(6) North-west Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions

ALBEE, RUTH and BILL. *Alaska challenge*. London: Robert Hale. 1941. Pp. viii, 345. (15s.) The account of a journey made from Prince George in British Columbia to Whitewater Post, and from thence over the Sifton Pass to Liard Post. The last section tells of life amongst the Eskimo at Nome and Cape Prince of Wales.

- ANDERSON, J. W. *The 1941 voyage of R.M.S. Nascopie* (Beaver, outfit 272, Dec., 1941, 7-9). The 272nd annual voyage made by the Company vessel "Trading into Hudson's Bay" was one of the most arduous yet known, due to old ice in the south, new ice in the north, and heavy weather homeward bound.
- CROSS, AUSTIN F. *Alaska: Defence by highway and skyway* (Canadian business, XIV (12), Dec., 1941, 42-5, 114, 116, 118, 120, 122). Describes the double-barrelled protection being forged to defend the Pacific coast in war and aid it commercially in the peace to come.
- FITZ, FRANCES ELLA, as told to JEROME ODLUM. *Lady Sourdough*. New York [Toronto]: The Macmillan Company. 1941. Pp. xii, 319. (\$3.50) The autobiography of a New York girl who joined a company prospecting for gold in Alaska at the turn of the century. To be reviewed later.
- FLEMING, Right Rev. A. L. *Oil comes to lands forlorn* (Imperial oil review, spring, 1942, 2-5, 42). Points out the good that the use of oil has brought, for cooking, transportation, and the running of diesel engines to produce heat and light, in the north country.
- GODSELL, PHILIP HENRY. *They got their man: On patrol with the North West Mounted*. London: R. Hale Limited [Toronto: Ryerson]. 1941. Pp. 287. (\$3.75)
- KING, W. CORNWALLIS as told to MARY WEEKES. *Bompas the greenhorn* (Beaver, outfit 272, Dec., 1941, 24-6). How Mr. King made a 450-mile dog-sled trip near the Arctic Circle with a "green" traveller who later became famous as Bishop Bompas.
- NICHOLS, J. W. *My most exciting experience in the Company's service* (Beaver, outfit 272, Dec., 1941, 10-13). The account of a trip in Northern Baffin Land from Pond's Inlet to Arctic Bay seventeen years ago.
- PONCINS, GONTRAN DE. *Arctic Christmas*. Translated by LEWIS GALANTIÈRE. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 1941. Pp. 23, illustrated.
- QUEENY, EDGAR M. *Cheechako: The story of an Alaskan bear hunt*. Introduction by NASH BUCKINGHAM. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1941. Pp. xvi, 134. (\$7.50) To be reviewed later.
- REID, VIRGINIA HANCOCK. *The purchase of Alaska: Contemporary opinion*. Long Beach, Calif.: Press Telegram, Printers. 1939. Pp. xii, 134. (\$1.00) The author is convinced from a study of contemporary opinion that the American people were not so contemptuous of the Alaskan purchase as later writers have concluded.
- VAN VALIN, WILLIAM B. *Eskimoland speaks*. Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers. 1941. Pp. 242. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.
- WASHBURN, H. BRADFORD, Jr. *A preliminary report on studies of the mountains and glaciers of Alaska* (Geographical journal, XCVIII (5, 6), Nov.-Dec., 1941, 219-27). A report based on studies made since 1930.

(7) Newfoundland

- HUNTER, A. C. *Newfoundland in a changing world* (New Commonwealth quarterly, July, 1941, 36-50).
- SHELTON, A. C. *Newfoundland: Our north door neighbour*. New York: Dutton. 1941. Pp. 116. (\$3.50)

VI. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

(1) Price Control

- BATES, STEWART. *Canada erects a price ceiling* (Public affairs, V (2), winter, 1941, 57-61). A consideration of the functioning of the price control system.

- Canada, Wartime Prices and Trade Board. *Price control in Canada* compiled by KENNETH R. WILSON. (Booklet no. 1.) Ottawa: Wartime Prices and Trade Board. Dec., 1941. Pp. 40.
- CHURCHILL, RICHARD. *This regulated economy of ours* (Country guide, LX (12), Dec., 1941, 8, 22-3). Outlines the prices and wages control measures taken by the Canadian government.
- COMSTOCK, A. *Canada freezes wages and prices* (Current history, Dec., 1941, 332-3).
- HENDERSON, A. MAXWELL. *Administration of price control* (Canadian chartered accountant, XL (2), Feb., 1942, 83-91).
- MACKINTOSH, W. A. *Price and wage ceilings—why?: Background of Dominion government's policy of control of wages and prices* (Canadian chartered accountant, XXXIX (6), Dec., 1941, 385-96). The text of an address given before the Canadian Club of Toronto on November 17, 1941.
- PAINE, R. V. *Price control in Canada, Great Britain and the United States* (Canadian banker, XLIX (2), Jan., 1942, 213-20). A comparison of the three methods taken in the three countries to maintain stable prices, which emphasizes the boldness of the Canadian plan.
- T., J. S. *Topics of the day: America's declaration of war: The new phase: Wage and price control: Labor's war* (Dalhousie review, XXI (4), Jan., 1942, 487-98). A discussion of these various topics.
- WYNNE, W. H. *The Wartime Prices and Trade Board: A study of consumer protection, under war conditions, in Canada*. (Consumer div. bull., no. 13.) Washington: Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply. 1941. Pp. 28. (mimeo.)

(2) Agriculture

- BOOTH, J. F. *Canadian agriculture in the post war period*. Ottawa. 1941. Pp. 10 (mimeo.). Presented at the Annual Meeting of the National Dairy Council, Toronto, Oct. 28, 1941.
- [EDWARDS, EVERETT E.] *American agriculture—the first 300 years*. (Reprint from pages 171-276 of the 1940 Yearbook of Agriculture; Yearbook separate no. 1730.) Washington: U.S. Govt. Printing Office. 1941. This section of the Yearbook of Agriculture was written by Everett E. Edwards, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics at Washington. It provides a concise account of agriculture in the United States with many references of interest to Canada. The bibliography lists 210 titles. [FRED LANDON]
- FOWKE, V. C. *An introduction to Canadian agricultural history* (C.J.E.P.S., VIII (1), Feb., 1942, 56-68). Holds that the historic role of agriculture in Canada has been as a basis for commercial and political empire, and the arrangement of the bibliography is devised according to this hypothesis.
- GARDINER, JAMES G. *Agriculture in Canada* (Think, VII (9), Canadian National Exhibition no., 1941, 32-3, 97-8). "The greatest source of livelihood of the Canadian people and the chief contribution to the country's trade."
- GRIFFIN, H. L. *The basis of the wheat problem* (Canadian banker, XLIX (1), Oct., 1942, 79-93). The solution to Canada's wheat problem lies in a post-war world which permits the proper functioning of an economy based extensively on international trade.
- LATTIMER, J. E. *Some aspects of agriculture in the Maritimes* (Public affairs, V (2), winter, 1941, 74-9). Considers the development of agriculture, the utilization of improved farm land, the relation of agriculture to population, etc.

Nova Scotia, Dept. of Agriculture. *What the farmers told us in Cumberland County: An economic survey of selected farm areas in Cumberland County, Nova Scotia* conducted by the Dept. under the direction of J. E. LATTIMER. (Bulletin no. 5.) Halifax, 1941. Pp. 63. Map.

(3) Immigration, Emigration, Colonization, Population, and Population Groups

BOYLE, GEORGE. *Towards a rural culture* (Public affairs, V (2), winter, 1941, 83-5). The problem is not mainly one of land settlement but of rural rehabilitation, of revitalizing existing rural communities.

CARTWRIGHT, STEVEN. *Population: Canada's problem*. (Contemporary affairs series no. 11.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1941. Pp. [iv], 34. (30c.)

CLEMENTS, HALL KANE. *New worlds for old* (Think, VII (9), Canadian National Exhibition no., 1941, 52-3, 71-2). Reports on the progress of the Sudeten refugee colonization project in Saskatchewan, and of the Vautrin Plan in Quebec.

MACGIBBON, D. A. *Immigration and capital* (Canadian banker, XLIX (1), Oct., 1941, 60-4). Points out that large scale immigration into Canada, to be even temporarily successful, must be accompanied by a correlative expansion of capital investment.

(4) Geography

SISSONS, C. B. *Mount Coleman* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIV (2), Feb., 1942, 102-10). Describes a week's climbing and exploration in the summer of 1939 on Mount Coleman, named after the late Professor A. P. Coleman, authority on glaciation.

TAYLOR, GRIFFITH. *The climates of Canada* (Canadian banker, XLIX (1), Oct., 1941, 34-59). Discusses the various types of climate and their effect on settlement.

(5) Transportation and Communication

BANKS, W. J. *The St. Lawrence waterway scheme* (Empire review, LXXXIV (489), Oct., 1941, 177-80). An outline of the project.

BEATTY, Sir EDWARD. "*An experiment in transportation*" (Think, VII (9), Canadian National Exhibition no., 1941, 37, 67-9). "The Canadian adventure in nation-building has been primarily one in the provision of the transportation facilities needed to enable a people separated by great natural barriers to organize a national life."

Canada, Dominion of. Treaty series 1940, no. 2. *Exchange of notes (Oct. 14, 1940; including supplementary notes of Oct. 31 and Nov. 7) relating to Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin between Canada and United States of America*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1941. Pp. 5.

CHICANOT, E. L. *Across Canada by motor car* (Think, VII (9), Canadian National Exhibition no., 1941, 60, 89). Completion of the Trans-Canada highway will fulfil a long-held dream of a coast-to-coast scenic route.

DOUGALL, HERBERT E. *Some comparisons in Canadian and American railway finance* (Essays in transportation, ed. by H. A. INNIS, Toronto, 1941, 17-30).

DRUMMOND, W. M. *Transportation and Canadian agriculture* (Essays in transportation, ed. by H. A. INNIS, Toronto, 1941, 71-84).

GLAZEBROOK, G. P. DET. *Nationalism and internationalism on Canadian waterways* (Essays in transportation, ed. by H. A. INNIS, Toronto, 1941, 1-16).

GRAFF, M. O. *Lake Michigan water diversion controversy: Summary statement* (Journal of Illinois State Historical Society, XXXIV (4), Dec., 1941, 453-71). Contains a section on the controversy with Canada over the diversion.

INNIS, H. A. (ed.). *Essays in transportation in honour of W. T. Jackman*. With a foreword by the Hon. and Rev. H. J. CODY. (University of Toronto Political Economy series, no. 11.) Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1941. Pp. x, 167. (\$2.50) Contains in printed form the series of lectures given at the University of Toronto in the spring of 1941. The essays are listed separately in this bibliography if relevant to the Canadian scene.

MCDougALL, JOHN. *St. Lawrence Waterways* (Public affairs, V (2), winter, 1941, 68-70). Considers that neither for navigation nor for power purposes is it necessary to proceed with the project at the present time.

St. Lawrence survey. 3. *Potential traffic on the St. Lawrence seaway*. Washington: Govt. Printing Office, Superintendent of Documents. 1941. Pp. 342. (40c.) Parts 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6 are listed in the bibliography in the December, 1941, issue, p. 462.

St. Lawrence waterway, revived as emergency project (Index, N.Y. Trust Co., autumn, 1941, pp. 12).

WILLIS, R. B. *St. Lawrence seaway* (Quarterly review of commerce, VIII (4), 1941, 249-303). Examines the proposals contained in the Agreement of 1941 from the Canadian point of view, with major emphasis upon the economic aspects and on the relationship of the project to national defence.

WILSON, NORMAN D. *Some problems of urban transportation* (Essays in transportation, ed. by H. A. INNIS, Toronto, 1941, 85-118).

VII. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

MAHEUX, ARTHUR. *Sur la nomination de deux évêques, Laval et Briand* (Canada français, XXVIII (7), mars, 1941, 674-700).

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *La première chapelle de Sainte-Anne à Montréal* (B.R.H., XLVIII, (2), fév., 1942, 51-3). This chapel was founded in 1697 by Pierre Le Ber and did not finally fall into ruin until 1823.

100th anniversary of St. Thomas' Church, Montreal (Montreal churchman, XXIX (11), Nov., 1941, 16-19). Since its foundation in 1841 the church's history has been closely linked with the Molson family.

PORTER, HORACE A. *The story of a mother parish: Historic Trinity Church, Saint John, N.B., celebrates its sesquicentennial* (Canadian churchman, LXVIII (46), Dec. 18, 1941, 736-7). Outlines its history from the first settlement of Loyalists in 1783.

POULIOT, LÉON. *L'Eglise de l'Orégon, fondation canadienne* (B.R.H., XLVIII (1), janv., 1942, 22-6). Includes three documents bearing on the relation of French Canada to the church in Oregon.

RAYMOND, A. E. *Parish of Woodstock in New Brunswick* (Canadian churchman, LXIX (1, 2), Jan. 1, 8, 1942, 7, 23-4). A history of the parish from the first settlement in 1783.

VIII. BIBLIOGRAPHY

A bibliography of current publications on Canadian economics (C.J.E.P.S., each issue).

The bibliography in the February, 1942 issue, contains an explanation of how it is compiled, and lists recent publications in the fields of labour, trade (including price control), money and banking, public finance, economic geography, social conditions, government and politics, international relations, and miscellaneous.

MCDERMOTT, JOHN FRANCIS. *A glossary of Mississippi Valley French, 1673-1850*. (Washington University Studies, new series, Language and Literature, no. 12.) St. Louis, Mo.: Washington University Library, Dept. of Serials and Documents. 1941. Pp. x, 161. (\$1.50) See p. 80.

McKim's directory of Canadian publications, 1941. Ed. 34. Montreal, Toronto, etc.: A. McKim Ltd. 1941. Pp. 503. (\$3.00). A most useful compilation of daily papers, weekly, monthly, and quarterly journals, listed according to place of publication. There is also an interesting section on the foreign-language press in Canada.

MURRAY, FLORENCE B., LOOSELEY, ELIZABETH W. and SHEPART, MARTHA. *Canadian catalogue of books published in Canada, about Canada, as well as those written by Canadians, with imprint of 1940*. Toronto: Toronto Public Libraries. 1941. Pp. 51. (50c.). The nineteenth number of this annual publication, issued yearly since 1921-2.

SHEPPARD, M. Y. *Analysis of the contents of sixteen Canadian farm publications for the year 1940* (Quarterly review of commerce, VIII (4), 1941, 312-17). Classifies the contents into various categories.

STUNTZ, S. C. (comp.). *List of the agricultural periodicals of the United States and Canada published during the century July 1810 to July 1910*. Edited by EMMA B. HAWES. (United States Dept. of Agriculture, miscellaneous publications no. 398.) Washington: Superintendent of Documents. 1941. Pp. 197. (20c.). The compiler of this list was for six years (1902-1908) a cataloguer and classifier in the Library of Congress and from 1908 until his death in 1918 was employed in the United States Department of Agriculture. The preparation of this list was a personal project, entirely separate from his official work. The number of journals listed is 3,753. [FRED LONDON]

IX. ART AND LITERATURE

LAURISTON, VICTOR. *Arthur Stringer, son of the north*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1941. Pp. x, 178. (\$1.75). This volume in the Makers of Canadian Literature Series deals with one of Canada's foremost and most successful authors, both as artist and personality. A discussion of his writing, style, and development is concluded by a representative anthology of his prose and verse.

MACMILLAN, SIR ERNEST. *Canadian musical life* (Think, VII (9), Canadian National Exhibition no., 1941, 55, 70). Discusses traditional and modern elements in the Dominion's music, and the achievements of Canadian artists at home and abroad.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *L'Institut national, rival de l'Institut canadien* (B.R.H., XLVII (8), août, 1941, 236-9). The Institut national was formed in 1852 by members who broke away from the Institut canadien.

Rimelles et formulettes (B.R.H., XLVIII (1), janv., 1942, 20-2). Discussion of ancient rhymes used in French Canada and collected by the late Ernest Gagnon.

MAURAUULT, OLIVIER. *Les peintres de la Montée Saint-Michel* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no. 6, 1941, 49-65). Discusses a school of painters founded in Montreal about 1904.

NANTEL, MARÉCHAL. *Autour d'une décision judiciaire sur la langue française en Canada* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no. 6, 1941, 145-65). Concerns various laws passed since the conquest of Canada making French an official language.

PIERCE, LORNE. *Literature of the Dominion* (Think, VII (9), Canadian National Exhibition no., 1941, 62, 82). Discourses on the French and English traditions in Canadian literature.

X. ETHNOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY, AND ARCHAEOLOGY

(Contributed annually since 1925 by Professor T. F. McIlwraith.)

- Alaskan expedition of the American museum of natural history* (Science, XCIV (2442), Oct. 17, 1941, 359-60). A preliminary description of further archaeological work at Point Hope, Alaska, by Dr. H. L. Shapiro of the American Museum of Natural History. A large village, which must have had a population of about 3,000 inhabitants, was found; 500 tombs were excavated and some 500 skeletons brought back.
- ANASTASI, ANNE, and FOLEY, JOHN P., Jr. *A study of animal drawings by Indian children of the North Pacific coast* (Journal of social psychology, IX (3), Aug., 1938, 363-74). Drawings by Indian children of British Columbia reflect tribal concepts, both in selection of subject and style of depiction.
- BALL, SYDNEY H. *The mining of gems and ornamental stones by American Indians* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 128, Anthropological papers, 13, 1941, ix-xii, 1-77). A thorough and well-documented study of the gems (22 in number), and minerals and ornamental stones (30 in number), used by the Indians of North and South America, with descriptions of the mining techniques employed, locations of mines, and other aspects of the mining industry.
- BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Backgrounds in Canadian art* (Royal Society of Canada transactions, XXXV, sec. 2, May, 1941, 29-39, 12 plates). In aboriginal Indian, as well as French and English crafts, there is a rich background for the development of a distinctive Canadian art.
- *Backgrounds in North American folk arts* (Queen's quarterly, XLVIII (3), autumn, 1941, 284-94). A stimulating article on the range of Canadian folk crafts, European and Indian, with suggestions as to their study.
- *The beaver in Canadian art* (Beaver, outfit 272, Sept., 1941, 14-18). The beaver has figured prominently in Canadian art in two main styles, the relatively realistic eastern beaver, and the conventionalized form of the North-west coast; both have been adapted by white craftsmen.
- *Old Canadian silver* (Canadian geographical journal, XXII (3), March, 1941, 150-62). A well illustrated description of French silver and silversmiths, including the marks by which their individual work can be identified, with a briefer summary of the ornamental silver, a craft probably of Russian origin, of the coastal Indians of British Columbia.
- *Sashes for the fur trade* (Beaver, outfit 272, June, 1941, 24-7). A description of the origin and development of braided and woven sashes, including the well-known *ceinture flechée*.
- and DAVIAULT, PIERRE. *Contes populaires canadiens* (septième série) (Journal of American folk-lore, LIII (208-9), Apr.-Sept., 1940, 89-190). An important series of French-Canadian folk-tales.
- BEAUGRAND-CHAMPAGNE, ARISTIDE. *Croyances des anciens Iroquois* (Les Cahiers des Dix, no. 6, 1941, 195-210). Legends and beliefs of the Iroquois.
- BENTHAM, ROBERT and JENNESS, DIAMOND. *Eskimo remains in S.E. Ellesmere Island* (Royal Society of Canada transactions, XXXV, sec. 2, May, 1941, 41-55, 6 plates). A report on Eskimo sites excavated on Ellesmere Island. The artifacts recovered show that the inhabitants were Central Eskimo; the period of occupancy was about 1700.
- BEYNON, WILLIAM. *The Tsimshians of Mellakalla, Alaska* (American anthropologist, XLIII (1), Jan.-March, 1941, 83-8). A summarized history of the migration, under missionary influence, of Tsimshian Indians from British Columbia to Alaska, with comparisons of the present condition of the natives in the two areas.
- BIRKET-SMITH, KAJ. *Anthropological observations on the Central Eskimos*. (Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-4, III (1).) Copenhagen: Nordisk Forlag. 1940. Pp. 121. 32 plates. A further instalment of the results of the Fifth Thule Expedition; it is valuable, though perhaps less important than the previously published ethnological data.

- BLOOMFIELD, LEONARD. *Proto-Algonquian -i-t- 'fellow'* (Language, XVII (4), Oct.-Dec., 1941, 292-7). A detailed study of a morphological element in the Algonkian languages.
- BROWN, ANNORA. *Prairie totems* (Canadian geographical journal, XXIII (3), Sept., 1941, 148-51). A popular description of the drawings used to decorate skin tents by the Plains Indians.
- BRYAN, KIRK. *Geological antiquity of man in America* (Science, XCIII (2422), May 30, 1941, 505-14). The general problem of the antiquity of man in America has become a comparatively precise problem of the geological antiquity of a number of well recognized archaeological cultures, of which the relationships to one another are becoming established.
- BURGESS, J. A. *Snowshoes* (Beaver, outfit 271, March, 1941, 24-8). A brief description of types of snow-shoe used in the North-east, their development and manufacture.
- BURNS, J. W. *The wild giants of British Columbia* (Liberty, XVIII (47), Nov. 22, 1941, 10-13, 51). An Indian agent's account of extraordinary beings whose existence is vouched for by some of the British Columbia Indians.
- CARR, EMILY. *Klee Wyck*. With a foreword by IRA DILWORTH. London, Toronto, New York: Oxford University Press. 1941. Pp. xiv, 155. (\$2.50) See p. 90.
- CHAMBLISS, CHARLES E. *The botany and history of Zizania aquatica L. ("wild rice")* (Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, XXX (5), May, 1940, 185-205; also in Annual report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1940, 369-82, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1941). A botanical study of wild rice, with notes upon its use by the Indians of Minnesota and western Ontario.
- CHARLES, ENID. *The nuptiality problem with special reference to Canadian marriage statistics* (C.J.E.P.S., VII (3), Aug., 1941, 447-77). A detailed statistical study of marriage and reproduction rates among the white population of Canada.
- CLAY, CHARLES. *From tribal poverty to steady income* (Forest and outdoors, May, 1941, 142-4). Government planning in the re-establishment of muskrats in Manitoba has put a steady income in the hands of Métis families.
- COLLINS, HENRY B., Jr. *Prehistoric Eskimo harpoon heads from Bering Strait* (Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, XXXI (7), July, 1941, 318-24). An analysis of harpoon-head types from Bering Strait, including an ancient specimen of unusual form which seems to be older even than the Old Bering Sea specimens.
- COOPER, JOHN M. *Temporal sequence and the marginal cultures*. (The Catholic University of America, Anthropological series X.) Washington: The Catholic University of America. 1941. Pp. 69. A scholarly study of distributions and their value in historical reconstructions.
- COUNT, EARL W. *The Australoid problem and the peopling of America* (Revista del instituto de antropología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, II (7), 1941, 121-76). A detailed anthropometrical study of one of the elements in the population of America; the evidence is treated statistically.
- CURRELLY, C. T. and ELLIOTT, O. C. *The case of the Beardmore relics* (C.H.R., XXII (3), Sept., 1941, 254-79). Careful statements of the evidence *pro* and *con* the Norse relics from Lake Nipigon.
- DENSMORE, FRANCES. *The native art of the Chippewa* (American anthropologist, XLIII (4:1), Oct.-Dec., 1941, 678-81). A description of birch-bark transparencies, a distinctive art of the Ojibwa of western Ontario and Minnesota.

- DOUGLAS, FREDERIC H., and d'HARNONCOURT, RENÉ. *Indian art of the United States*. New York: Museum of Modern Art. 1941. Pp. 220, many illustrations, including colour plates. This is, primarily, a catalogue of the temporary showing of Indian art, held at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. This exhibition, comprising articles from most of the prominent museums, was undoubtedly the finest collection of representative art objects of the Indians ever brought together. The illustrations pay full justice to the material, while the text is an admirable summary of aboriginal American art, its techniques, significance, and regional specializations.
- DRIVER, HAROLD E. *Culture element distributions: XVI: Girls' puberty rites in western North America* (Anthropological records, VI (2), Berkeley, California, 1941, i-iv, 21-90). [Plano.] A comprehensive geographical and statistical study of this culture trait in western Canada and the United States.
- DRUCKER, PHILIP. *Kwakiutl dancing societies* (Anthropological records, II (6), Berkeley, California, 1940, i-vi, 201-30). [Plano.] A study of secret societies, their rituals, functions, and distribution among the coastal tribes of central British Columbia.
- DUTTON, BERTHA P. *Alaskan collections exhibited* (El Palacio, XLVIII (12), Dec., 1941, 271-8). A description of Eskimo material from Alaska recently obtained by the Museum of New Mexico.
- EMBREE, EDWIN R. *Indians of the Americas*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1939. Pp. xii, 260; many illustrations. (\$2.75) See p. 89.
- FEE, CHESTER ANDERS. *Oregon's historical Esperanto—the Chinook jargon* (Oregon historical quarterly, XLII (2), June, 1941, 176-85). The Chinook jargon served over the entire Columbia River basin as a means of inter-tribal communication.
- FENTON, WILLIAM N. *Iroquois suicide: a study in the stability of a culture pattern* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 128, Anthropological papers, 14, 1941, 79-137). A definitive study of the reasons for, methods of, and attitudes towards, suicide among the Iroquois over a period of three hundred years. The aboriginal pattern in regard to this trait has survived European impact.
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- Masked medicine societies of the Iroquois* (Annual report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1940, 397-430, 25 plates, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1941). A thorough study of Iroquois masks, well classified according to types, functions and significance in the social groups in which they were used.
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- Museum and field studies of Iroquois masks and ritualism* (Explorations and field-work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1940, Washington, Smithsonian Institution (publication 3631), 1941, 95-100). An illustrated description of field-work in northern New York and on the Grand River, Ontario.
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- Tonawanda longhouse ceremonies: Ninety years after Lewis Henry Morgan* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 128, Anthropological papers, no. 15, 1941, 139-65). A description of contemporary Iroquois rituals, compared with those recorded by Morgan nearly one hundred years ago. Though specifically limited to New York State, the data are significant for any study of the Ontario Iroquois.
- FOX, W. SHERWOOD. *St. Ignace, Canadian altar of martyrdom* (Royal Society of Canada transactions, XXXV, sec. 2, May, 1941, 69-79). As a result of archaeological reconnaissance and excavation, it is believed that the site of St. Ignace has been located on lots 5 and 6, Concession IX, Tay Township, Simcoe County, Ontario.
- GEARY, JAMES A. *Proto-Algonquian 'ck: further examples* (Language, XVII (4), Oct.-Dec., 1941, 304-10). A study of the distribution of an Algonkian consonantal group.
- GEBHARD, PAUL and KENT, KATE PECK. *Some textile specimens from the Aleutian islands* (American antiquity, VII (2:1), Oct., 1941, 171-8). A technical description of pre-Russian textiles from the Aleutian Islands, with identification of the materials used.

- GIDDINGS, J. L., Jr. *Ethnographic notes, Kobuk River region, Alaska* (The Kiva, VI (7), April, 1941, 25-8). A preliminary and semi-popular account of field-work in Alaska.
- *Rock paintings in central Alaska* (American antiquity, VII (1), July, 1941, 69-70). A brief, illustrated report on rock paintings recently discovered on the Tanana River, above Fairbanks, Alaska.
- GOLDENWEISER, ALEXANDER. *Culture of the Indian tribes of the Pacific northwest* (Oregon historical quarterly, XLI (2), June, 1940, 137-46). A general description of North-west coast culture.
- GOLDMAN, IRVING. *The Alkatcho carrier: Historical background of crest prerogatives* (American anthropologist, XLIII (3:1), July-Sept., 1941, 396-418). A careful study of the southern Carrier Indians of British Columbia, with special reference to the effects of contact with coastal tribes having crest concepts.
- GOULD, HARLEY N. *The Acadian French in Canada and in Louisiana* (American journal of physical anthropology, XXVIII (3), Sept., 1941, 289-312). A series of detailed physical studies of French groups in Louisiana, on the one hand, and New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island on the other.
- GREENMAN, EMERSON F. *Excavation of a prehistoric site in Manitoulin district, Ontario* (Man, XLI, May-June, 1941, 67-8). A brief note on an ancient site excavated on the shore of Georgian Bay, Ontario.
- and STANLEY, GEORGE M. *Two post-Nipissing sites near Killarney, Ontario* (American antiquity, VI (4), April, 1941, 305-13). A preliminary report on two important sites excavated near Killarney, Ontario.
- HADLOCK, WENDELL S. *Observations concerning the "Red paint culture"* (American antiquity, VII (2:1), Oct., 1941, 156-61). Though generally believed to be ancient, the "Red Paint Culture" of Maine and the Maritime Provinces may have been confused with the Woodlands culture, and survived into the post-white period.
- HALLOWELL, A. IRVING. *The Rorschach method as an aid in the study of personalities in primitive societies* (Character and personality, IX (3), March, 1941, 235-45). Use of the Rorschach method among the Saulteaux of the Manitoba-Ontario border indicates that this technique is of definite value in studying personality among non-literate peoples.
- *The spirits of the dead in Saulteaux life and thought* (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, LXX (1), 1940, 29-51). Though continued existence after death is accepted without question by the Saulteaux of the Ontario-Manitoba border, is substantiated by beliefs in visits to the next world, and is an important focus of ritual, yet true ancestor worship does not exist among them.
- D'HARNONCOURT, RENÉ. *Living arts of the Indians* (Magazine of art, Feb., 1941, 72-7). An illustrated description of the exhibition of Indian craftsmanship at the Museum of Modern Art.
- HARRINGTON, JOHN P. *A field comparison of northwestern with southwestern Indians* (Explorations and field-work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1940, Washington, Smithsonian Institution (publication 3631), 1941, 91-4). A brief report on field work in Alaska, with comments on linguistic resemblances between the Tlingit and the Navajo of New Mexico.
- HARRINGTON, M. R. *Indian tribes of the Plains* (Masterkey, XV (4), 1941, 6-28, 9 figs.). A semi-popular description.
- HEIZER, ROBERT F. *The introduction of Monterey shells to the Indians of the northwest coast* (Pacific northwest quarterly, Oct., 1940, 399-402). Abalone shells, which are highly prized for inset decorations by the Indians of the North-west coast, were first brought northwards by several of the early explorers, as is recorded in their writings.

- HERSKOVITS, MELVILLE J. *The economic life of primitive peoples*. New York and London: Alfred A. Knopf. 1940. Pp. xxviii, 492. The many descriptions of economic aspects of life among Indian tribes of Canada warrant the inclusion in a Canadian bibliography of this important volume of world-wide content.
- HINSDALE, WILBERT B. and CAPPANNARI, STEPHEN C. *Distribution of perforated human crania in the western hemisphere* (Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters for 1940, XXVI, 1941, 459-62). Trephining, post-mortem trephining, and post-mortem perforation by drilling have all occurred in Michigan, and the last two practices in south-western Ontario as well.
- HOEBEL, E. ADAMSON. *The Asiatic origin of a myth of the northwest coast* (Journal of American folklore, LIV (211-12), Jan.-June, 1941, 1-9). Detailed internal comparison of a British Columbia Indian myth with one current in south-eastern Asia and the East Indies indicates their common origin.
- *Law-ways of the primitive Eskimos* (Journal of criminal law and criminology, XXXI (6), 1941, 663-83).
- HOFSENDE, ROBERT. *Talk-without-talk* (Natural history, XLVII (1), Jan., 1941, 32-9). A series of photographs of the gestures used as symbols by the Plains Indians; placed in sequence, a story can be "told" rapidly and accurately.
- HOWARD, HELEN ADDISON, and McGRATH, DAN L. *War Chief Joseph*. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers. 1941. Pp. 362. (\$3.50)
- HRDLICKA, ALES. *Artifacts on human and seal skulls from Kodiak Island* (American journal of physical anthropology, XXVIII (4), Dec., 1941, 411-21). A description of an early skull from Kodiak Island with unusual mutilation, with observations on other types of cranial perforation in north-western America.
- *Diseases of and artifacts on skulls and bones from Kodiak Island*. (Smithsonian miscellaneous collections, 101 (4).) Washington: Smithsonian Institution. 1941. Pp. 14, 11 plates. A comprehensive report on the physical characteristics of the early inhabitants of Kodiak Island, as well as of the cranial mutilations practised by them both before and after death.
- *Exploration of mummy caves in the Aleutian Islands* (Scientific monthly, LII, 1941, 5-23, and 113-130). A semi-popular description of important excavations in the Aleutian Islands.
- *Height and weight in Eskimo children* (American journal of physical anthropology, XXVIII (3), Sept., 1941, 331-41). A series of records of Alaska Eskimo children, charted and compared with a similar series of white American children.
- HUNTER, HELEN V. *The ethnography of salt in aboriginal North America*. Philadelphia. 1940. Pp. 63. A thorough study of the distribution and use of salt among the American Indians.
- JACOBS, MELVILLE. *A survey of Pacific northwest anthropological research 1930-1940* (Pacific northwest quarterly, Jan., 1941, 79-106). A critical study of what has been accomplished on the North-west Coast in the last decade, with comments upon the work most urgently needed.
- JENNESS, DIAMOND. *An archaeological collection from the Belcher Islands in Hudson Bay* (Annals of the Carnegie Museum, XXVIII, 1941, 189-206). A careful description and analysis of a large collection of surface material from the Belcher Islands; affinities with both the Late Thule and Dorset cultures are shown.
- *Prehistoric culture waves from Asia to America* (Annual report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1940, 383-96, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1941). A reprint of an article in the *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, cited in this bibliography in 1941 (C.H.R., March, 1941, 104).
- KEPPLER, JOSEPH. *Comments on certain Iroquois masks*. (Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, XII (4).) New York: Museum of the American Indian. 1941. Pp. 40, 13 plates. A series of excellent photographs of Iroquois masks, with descriptions of their use.

- KIDD, K. E. *The excavation of Fort Ste. Marie* (C.H.R., XXII (4), Dec., 1941, 403-15). A preliminary description of important excavations at Fort Ste. Marie, Ontario, centre of the seventeenth-century Jesuit missions in Huronia.
- KINIETZ, VERNON. *Birch bark records among the Chippewa* (Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science, XLIX, 1940, 38-40). A note on the significance of birch-bark drawings among the Ojibwa, especially in the medicine society.
- _____. *The Indians of the western Great Lakes 1615-1760*. (Occasional Contributions from the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan, no. 10.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1940. Pp. xvi, 427, 1 map, 2 tables. An important volume, comprising an exhaustive compendium of published and unpublished archive material on the Huron, Miami, Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Chippewa (Ojibwa) between 1615 and 1760.
- _____. *Notes on the roached headdress of animal hair among the North American Indians* (Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters for 1940, XXVI, 1941, 463-8). A description of the manufacture, use, and distribution of the roach, the well-known headdress of the Indians of the North-east and the Plains.
- KROEBER, A. L. *Culture element distributions: XV: Salt, Dogs, Tobacco* (Anthropological records, VI (1), Berkeley, California, 1941, i-ii, 1-20). [Plano.] A careful study of the distribution in North America of these three diverse elements, each subdivided according to different types of utilization.
- DE LAGUNA, FEDERICA. *Eskimo lamps and pots* (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, LXX (1), 1940, 53-76). Evidence based on a thorough study of Eskimo stone lamps and clay pots leads to the conclusion that cultural influences shown in these artifacts reached the New World through the Aleutian Islands.
- The land and its people* (Beaver, outfit 271, March, 1941, 30-7). A series of very fine photographs of Eskimo and their habitat in the Central Arctic.
- LANTIS, MARGARET. *No wonder they worship the seal* (Natural history, XLVIII (3), Oct., 1941, 166-72). A beautifully illustrated, popular account of life among the Eskimo of Nunivak Island, Bering Sea.
- LEE, D. DEMETRACOPOULOU. *Some Indian texts dealing with the supernatural* (Review of religion, May, 1941, 404-11).
- LISMER, MARJORIE. *Seneca splint basketry*. (Indian handicrafts, IV.) Washington: United States Department of the Interior. June, 1941. Pp. 39. A well illustrated description of the types of basket manufactured by the Seneca, the methods of construction, and observations on the distribution in North America of the different forms.
- LUOMALA, KATHARINE. *Oceanic, American Indian, and African myths of snaring the sun*. (Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin 168.) Honolulu: Bishop Museum. 1940. Pp. ii, 58. A compilation of myths on this theme from various areas, including North America.
- MCALLESTER, DAVID. *Water as a disciplinary agent among the Crow and Blackfoot* (American anthropologist, XLIII (4:1), Oct.-Dec., 1941, 593-604). The use of water to quiet fractious children seems to be correlated, among two Plains tribes, with the frequency of dreams and vision experiences in which water and water-beings appear in terrifying roles.
- McGILL, H. W. *Indian Affairs Branch* (Dominion of Canada: Report of the Department of Mines and Resources, including Report of Soldier Settlement of Canada, for the fiscal year ended March 31, 1940, Ottawa, King's Printer, 1940, pp. 182-210; and *idem* for fiscal year ended March 31, 1941, Ottawa, King's Printer, 1941, pp. 160-90). In addition to well-arranged statistical material on health, economics, education and wealth among the Indians of Canada, these annual surveys bring out general trends such as an increase in land under agriculture in 1939, and increasing employment in 1940.

- MACGREGOR, FRANCES COOKE. *Twentieth century Indians*. With a foreword by CLARK WISSLER. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1941. Pp. xvi, 127. (\$3.00)
- MANDELBAUM, DAVID G. *The Plains Cree* (Anthropological papers of the American Museum of Natural History, XXXVII (2), 1940, 155-316). An important study of the Plains Cree, formerly living in the Park Belt of Saskatchewan and Alberta. Though relatively recent migrants from the east, the Plains Cree are thoroughly adjusted to life on the prairies, and the process of their adaptation can be traced historically. Adequate descriptions are given of their economic life, manufactures, social structure, religion and warfare.
- MISHKIN, BERNARD. *Rank and warfare among the Plains Indians*. (Monographs of the American Ethnological Society, III.) New York: J. J. Augustin. 1940. Pp. viii, 65. Though concerned primarily with the Kiowa, this volume includes general observations upon warfare and its social significance among the Plains Indians.
- MUNTSCHE, ALBERT. *American Indian riddles* (Journal of American folklore, LIV (211-12), Jan.-June, 1941, 85). Though rare among Indians, riddles are reported by Father Jetté among the Athapaskan tribes of the North-west Territories.
- MURDOCK, GEORGE PETER. *Ethnographic bibliography of North America*. (Yale anthropological studies, I.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1941. Pp. 168. (Plano.) A monumental bibliography of the literature pertaining to the Indians of North America, arranged on a regional and tribal basis, with a map showing the location of each group.
- NADEAU, GABRIEL. *Indian scalping: Technique in different tribes* (Bulletin of the history of medicine, X (2), July, 1941, 178-94). A description of the various types of scalping, with details of the surgical techniques involved.
- PONCINS, GONTRAN DE. *Kabloona*. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, Inc. [Toronto: McClelland & Stewart]. 1941. Pp. 371. This is an intimate account of the Netsilik Eskimo, written by a French visitor who lived among them for many months. His understanding of their beliefs and practices is not comparable to that of Rasmussen, but his descriptions of life in the Arctic, of the interactions of white man and native, and of the ordinary vicissitudes of daily experience, and of his reactions to them, are fascinatingly written and have merited the popularity with which this book has been received.
- PRINGLE, P. M. *The "put" and "take" proposition* (American antiquity, VI (3), Jan., 1941, 266-71). Observations on the relationship between amateur and professional archaeologists, with special reference to mapping techniques used in work on the lower valley of the Grand River, Ontario.
- RAINEY, FROELICH G. *Eskimo prehistory: the Okvik site on the Punuk Islands* (Anthropological papers of the American Museum of Natural History, XXXVII (4), 1941, 453-569). A detailed description of material excavated on Punuk Island in Bering Sea; it is older than specimens of the Old Bering Sea culture from St. Lawrence Island.
- *The Ipiutak culture at Point Hope, Alaska* (American anthropologist, XLIII (3:1), July-Sept., 1941, 364-75).
- *Mystery people of the Arctic* (Natural history, XLVII (3), March, 1941, 148-55, 170-1).
- *A new form of culture on the Arctic coast* (Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, XXVII (3), March, 1941, 141-4). Excavations at Ipiutak, near Point Hope, Alaska, have revealed an ancient Eskimo town of over 600 houses, arranged in orderly fashion with definite streets. Among the unique specimens recovered were skulls with artificial ivory eyes; these and other artifacts suggest connections with Asia. This appears to have been a very early settlement, prior to other Early Bering Sea foci, whose cultures were clearly influenced by it. The first article describes the site, its excavation, and the significance of the finds in the reconstruction of Eskimo history, the second is beautifully illustrated and popular in scope, the third is a scholarly summary.

- RANSOM, JAY ELLIS. *Aleut semaphore signals* (American anthropologist, XLIII (3:1), July-Sept., 1941, 422-7). A description of an ingenious semaphore system devised by an Aleut of Alaska.
- RAY, VERNE F. *Historic backgrounds of the conjuring complex in the Plateau and the Plains* (Language, culture and personality: Essays in memory of Edward Sapir, Menasha, Wisconsin, Sapir Memorial Publication Fund, 1941, 204-16). An historical interpretation of the development of a religious ritual, based upon its distribution and analysis of its component parts.
- ROBINSON, PERCY J. *Meanings and derivation of Indian site names in Huronia* (Orillia Packet and Times, April 10, 1941).
- SCOTT, LESLIE M. *Indian women as food providers and tribal counselors* (Oregon historical quarterly, XLII (3), Sept., 1941, 208-19). A study of women's work in the economics of life among the Indians of the North-west Coast.
- SIEBERT, FRANK T., Jr. *Certain proto-Algonquian consonant clusters* (Language, XVII (4), Oct.-Dec., 1941, 298-303). A study of the development and distribution of certain phonetic elements in the Algonkian languages.
- SMITH, MARIAN W. *The coast Salish of Puget Sound* (American anthropologist, XLIII (2:1), April-June, 1941, 197-211). A careful study of tribal systems and distributions in north-western Washington; resemblances to Salish groups in British Columbia are noted.
- SPECK, FRANK G. *Art processes in birchbark of the River Desert Algonquin, a circum-boreal trait* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 128, Anthropological papers, 17, 1941, 229-74, 13 plates, 25 figs.). A study of the methods of construction and designs used for birch-bark utensils by various Algonkian bands in north-western Quebec.
- STEINER, F. B. *Some parallel developments of the semilunar knife* (Man, XLI, Jan.-Feb., 1941, 10-3). A study of knife blades from different parts of the world which resemble the Eskimo *ulu*.
- STEPHEN, C. N. *Koksoak River brigade* (Beaver, outfit 272, June, 1941, 36-43). Included in this account of transport on the Koksoak River in northern Quebec, are photographs and descriptions of present-day conditions among the Naskapi Indians of that area.
- STEWART, JULIAN H. *Recording culture changes among the Carrier Indians of British Columbia* (Explorations and field-work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1940, Washington, Smithsonian Institution (publication 3631), 1941, 83-90). A preliminary account of studies among the Carrier Indians of Fort St. James, British Columbia, with emphasis upon the culture changes that have occurred in post-European times.
- [STEWART, NOEL.] *"Meet Mr. Coyote," a series of B.C. Indian legends (Thompson tribe)*. With introduction by ALICE RAVENHILL and illustrations by young pupils of St. George's Indian School, Lytton, B.C. Victoria, n.d. [for the Society for the Furtherance of Indian Arts and Crafts, 1941]. Pp. 28, Ill. (25c.) Ten legends of Coyote, a favourite figure in the mythology of the interior of southern British Columbia.
- STRONG, WILLIAM DUNCAN. *What is a "Pre-Amerindian"?* (Science, XCI (2373), June 21, 1940, 594-6). Although early archaeological horizons have been recognized in America, skeletal material from them is lacking and it is unwise to postulate that they were made by a pre-American Indian type, especially as many of the artifacts from these early levels are comparable to forms found in later—and admittedly Indian—layers.

- TURNER-HIGH, HARRY HOLBERT. *Ethnography of the Kutenai*. (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, no. 56, and American Anthropologist, supplement, XLIII (2), part 2.) Menasha, Wisconsin: American Anthropological Association. 1941. Pp. 202, 8 plates. An important and comprehensive study of the life of the Kutenai, a tribe of the interior of southern British Columbia and the far north of Idaho.
- VAN VALIN, W. B. *Eskimoland speaks*. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers. 1941. Pp. 239. A description of Eskimo life in the Bering Sea area, with graphic accounts of hunting methods and daily life at the present time.
- VOEGELIN, C. F. *North American Indian languages still spoken and their genetic relationships* (Language, culture and personality: Essays in memory of Edward Sapir, Menasha, Wisconsin, Sapir Memorial Publication Fund, 1941, 15-40). A scholarly study of the relationship of American Indian languages.
- *The position of Blackfoot among the Algonquian languages* (Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters for 1940, XXVI, 1941, 505-12). A linguistic study of relationships among the western Algonkian languages.
- WEER, PAUL. *Ethnological notes on the Ottawa* (Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science, XLIX, 1940, 23-7). A description of the Ottawa and the history of their movements from Manitoulin Island and the adjacent mainland to Michigan.
- WHITFORD, A. C. *Textile fibers used in eastern aboriginal North America* (Anthropological papers of the American Museum of Natural History, XXXVIII (1), 1941, 1-22). The botanical identification of vegetable material in museum specimens from eastern North America shows the species utilized, and also throws light on the extent of aboriginal trade.
- WISSLER, CLARK. *Indians of the United States*. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc. 1940. Pp. xvi, 319. Dr. Wissler is dean of the scientific staff at the American Museum of Natural History and one of the most experienced American anthropologists; this volume is the first of a semi-popular science series covering aspects of work of that institution. For both reasons this book warrants consideration. The first chapters deal with the populating of America by the first, and Indian, pioneers; the treatment is perhaps over-simplified, but it definitely brings out the variety and sequence of cultures. Then follow descriptions of tribes met by the white man, arranged on a linguistic basis and not confined to United States groups. The emphasis is upon the frontier, upon the changes in life due to white contact, and enlivened with biographical notes on celebrated leaders. Finally, there are thought-provoking chapters on the "gifts" of the white man, the gun, the horse, and liquor. The scope of the volume is admirable, but it is difficult to condense such a broad subject into a single volume and maintain the easy and interesting style which is the author's aim.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

JAMES H. COYNE

James H. Coyne, for more than fifty years prominent in historical activities in Canada, died at St. Thomas, Ont., on January 5, 1942, in his 93rd year. He received his early education at the St. Thomas Grammar School. Proceeding to the University of Toronto he graduated in 1870 with the gold medal in Moderns, the silver medal in Classics, and the Prince of Wales prize for general proficiency. While an undergraduate he had served with the militia during the Fenian raids, a fact which he always recalled with pride.

For a year after graduation he was the headmaster of Cornwall Grammar School, but his inclinations were for the profession of law and he was called to the bar in 1874. He was active in politics until 1888 when he was appointed registrar of deeds for the County of Elgin. In that office his interest in history was stimulated by the constant reference to documents which threw light upon conditions of early settlement in the province. In 1891 he organized the Elgin Historical and Scientific Institute, of which he was the first president, being re-elected to that office in several subsequent years. In 1897 he was one of the chief movers in the organization of the Pioneer and Historical Association of Ontario and was its first president. When the Association was reorganized on a wider basis in 1898 as the Ontario Historical Society he was again elected president and held that office for several years. Later, he was one of the charter members of the Canadian Historical Association. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada in 1906, was Chairman of Section II in 1909-10 and was president of the Society 1926-7.

When the Historic Sites and Monuments Board was set up in 1918 Dr. Coyne was appointed as the representative for Ontario and continued to serve until his voluntary retirement in 1930. This was a work which gave him pleasure and to which he made a fine contribution. The briefs which he presented to the Board in recommendation of sites to be marked showed evidences of the most careful research. Three Universities conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws: Queen's University in 1909, the University of Western Ontario in 1927, and the University of Toronto in 1930.

Dr. Coyne was somewhat below average height, with a clear fresh countenance and sharp twinkling eyes. His snow-white hair, worn in later years somewhat long, was remindful of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. He was a charming conversationalist and a forceful speaker upon the public platform. His memory, even to his latest days, was remarkable and through travel, reading, and contacts with others his range of interests was of the broadest. In historical gatherings his comments upon the papers read were always fresh and illuminating. Dr. Coyne's historical writing was almost entirely confined to his contributions to historical publications. He wrote "The Pathfinders of the Great Lakes" for volume I of *Canada and its Provinces*. He edited the papers of Colonel Thomas Talbot for the *Transactions* of the Royal Society (1908, 1910). His most scholarly production was a translation, carefully edited, of the narrative of Bréhart de Galinée which was printed in the *Papers and Records* (vol. IV) of the Ontario Historical Society under the title "Exploration of the Great Lakes 1669-1670 by Dollier de Casson and Bréhart de Galinée." In 1906 Dr. Coyne presented to the Royal Society a sketch of Dr. Richard Maurice Bucke which in revised form was republished separately in 1923. Numerous other contributions were printed in the publications of historical societies or in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada.

Dr. Coyne will be remembered by his friends as a man of fine culture. He read both Latin and Greek with ease, as well as several modern languages. When he had passed the age of fifty he set out to learn modern Greek and on more than one occasion acted as an interpreter in court cases. But of all languages he loved the ancient Greek best, and even in his last illness read regularly from his Greek Testament.

Dr. Coyne's greatest contribution was the interest which he stimulated in Canadian history, federal, provincial, and local. He believed that knowledge of local history tended to promote better citizenship and proper national pride. The spirit of Tennyson's "Love thou thy land" was in all his activities. He was given great length of years, he had seen and even participated in events that are historic, but he never lost a zestful interest in all about him and delighted in the company of younger people. [FRED LANDON]

THE RETIREMENT OF M. PIERRE-GEORGES ROY

Some months ago M. Pierre-Georges Roy retired on superannuation. This event, which terminated a long and successful career, cannot pass unnoticed in the sphere of Canadian historians. Indeed, for many years the name of Pierre-Georges Roy has been a synonym for the indefatigable seeker, the patient, persistent worker, the prodigious compiler. His retirement brings to a close one of the finest chapters in Canadian archival research.

It was in 1920 that he became Archivist for the province of Quebec, but it can almost be said that he was born an archivist: the Roy family have been interested in old papers for generations. His father, a notary by profession, was a collector of old documents; his brother, J. Edmond Roy, author of several remarkable books, was assistant Dominion Archivist; and now Pierre-Georges Roy has been replaced as Provincial Archivist by his son, Antoine Roy, who studied at Ecole des Chartes, Paris, and obtained his doctorate from the University of Paris.

Pierre-Georges Roy can be considered the founder of the Quebec Provincial Archives. When he was appointed, in 1920, nothing had been done and all that the province possessed as regards archives was piled in a vault ten feet by twelve. With dogged courage M. Roy immediately set to work; and today the Quebec Archives is considered by many connoisseurs the richest repository in the Dominion in original documents. All these precious items, after having been repaired and indexed, are kept in the superb Archives and Museum building, erected on the most historic spot of the ancient capital, the Plains of Abraham, where the battle between Wolfe and Montcalm took place on September 13, 1759.

This distinguished historian has received much recognition in the course of his long career. A member of the Royal Society of Canada for twenty-five years, he is also a commander of St. Gregory, an officer of l'Instruction Publique, a knight of the Legion of Honour, a doctor of letters or laws of the universities of Laval, Ottawa, and Indiana, an honorary citizen of the city of Dieppe, etc.

M. Roy is probably the most prolific Canadian author in books and pamphlets, amounting to at least three hundred. Here is a recapitulation: fifty-one volumes on historical research; fifty-three volumes of calendars; twenty-one *Reports*, which are mines of information; seventy genealogies; ten volumes on old Quebec; fourteen volumes on Lévis. All his other works deal with problems in Canadian history. The *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, which he has edited for almost fifty years (surely a record), is a valuable source of Canadian history, and one of the most widely consulted Canadian historical publications. His *L'Ile d'Orléans* was

awarded a prize by the French Academy. The material is particularly well presented, and the printing is a work of art. When the King and Queen visited Canada, Their Majesties graciously accepted a richly bound copy of this book from the Quebec government. [SÉRAPHIN MARION]

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING

The annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association will be held on May 25 and 26 at Trinity College, University of Toronto. A session has been arranged in commemoration of the founding of Montreal, this year being the tercentenary of that event. A session is also being given to the functions of the historian in the present critical time. Other sessions centre for the most part around the Confederation and post-Confederation period, 1942 being the seventy-fifth anniversary of Confederation: federalism, political ideas, and Canadian-American relations will be among the topics treated. Inquiries with regard to the meeting may be addressed to the secretaries of the association, Mr. Norman Fee or M. Séraphin Marion, the Public Archives, Ottawa.

APPOINTMENT OF A NATIONAL ARCHIVIST IN THE UNITED STATES

Dr. Solon J. Buck, director of research and publications in the National Archives of the United States since 1935, was appointed archivist on September 18 in succession to Dr. R. D. W. Connor. Dr. Buck is known to Canadian historians as a scholar, and to some of them as a personal friend. On their behalf the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW wishes to take this opportunity of extending felicitations for a well-deserved honour and best wishes for success in a post of great responsibility. Before coming to the National Archives, Dr. Buck was Superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, 1914-31, and Director of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Survey, 1931-5, and had served on the faculties of the universities of Indiana, Illinois, Minnesota, and Pittsburgh.

The National Archives has been officially designated as one of the agencies of the Federal Government "conducting activities essential to the preparedness and national defense program." Among the many activities of the National Archives that are of importance to the defence programme and that led to this recognition are (i) its development of a store of information on record administration and its assistance to government agencies in this field; (ii) its aid to government agencies in the disposal of old records either by the transfer of those of value to the National Archives Building or by the destruction of those without value; (iii) its reference services on the vast quantities of records in its custody, including many records of the period of the first World War, which have particular significance in the present emergency; and (iv) its practice of making available to other government agencies its technical equipment and specially trained personnel.

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THE WAR IN AUSTRALIA

We have received the first four numbers of *Historical Studies—Australia and New Zealand*, published twice yearly by the Melbourne University Press. The journal is attractively printed and edited with care. The second issue, in commenting on the decision to proceed with the project of publication in spite of the war, observed: "It is clear the Australian, New Zealand, and South Pacific history has now become a common interest and study of all English-speaking peoples"; and again, "We could see no convincing argument for an immediate sacrifice of civilized activities. . . . We decided to go on, not in any casual aloofness from the problems

of the day, but, after serious thought, in the belief that there is a positive need in such times to keep alive the standards of objective truth, and, more generally, to contribute in this way to the preservation of civilized values." In addition to articles and reviews the journal prints periodical bibliographical summaries of the writings on Australian and New Zealand history.

In answer to an inquiry with regard to research in Australia, we have received an interesting letter from Mr. G. L. Wood, acting professor of commerce in the University of Melbourne, referring to a recent conference of history representatives and representatives of the government, in which plans were made for an extensive programme of research on topics relating to reconstruction after the war. Projects have been allotted to universities, research institutions, and individuals, and the Commonwealth government is providing financial assistance. Through these projects universities and allied institutions are being related directly to the government's war and post-war efforts. Historical and other studies are being combined in a comprehensive examination of Australia's international relations and of her political, social, and economic problems.

Lack of space in this issue has necessitated holding over the notes on Historical Societies and on Archives, Libraries, and Museums until the June issue.

BOOK-NOTES FOR TEACHERS

(The Canadian Historical Review will be pleased to supply on request information with regard to publishers and prices of books mentioned in its pages. These notes are of necessity selective. Suggestions will be appreciated.)

Canadians in general, and teachers of Canadian history in particular, should welcome books which reveal the distinctive patterns and colour of Canada's present life and past development. These books are fortunately increasing in number (Mr. Clay's article on historical novels is well worth reading in this connection), and a notable example is Mr. Bruce Hutchison's *The Unknown Country: Canada and Her People* (New York, 1942) which has just been published. It will be reviewed in a later issue, but a special word should be given it for the readers of these notes. "No one knows my country, neither the stranger nor its own sons. . . . My country has not found itself nor felt its power nor learned its true place. It is all visions and doubts and hopes and dreams," says Mr. Hutchison, at the beginning of his volume, and he then proceeds with insight and artistry to reveal the Canadian panorama as he sees it from Atlantic to Pacific. With clear understanding he puts his finger on the contradiction that lies at the centre of the national character. "It has a sense of frustration and failure and lack of a clear road, a concerted national drive. It has a sense of fumbling, a desperate desire to get somewhere, to be something" (p. 70), and this in spite of the fact that "Our eleven millions have produced more, earned more, subdued more, built more than any other eleven millions in the world" (p. 3). Whether this contradiction will be resolved, remains to be seen, but Mr. Hutchison's book may help Canadians to understand it, which is at least a step in the right direction. In the historical references there are inaccuracies and distortions (chapter IX is especially annoying in this respect). Nevertheless the book will leave most readers with a truer sense of the depth and meaning of Canadian history, and a more vivid understanding of the problems which face her at the present moment.

We discuss Canada: Study outlines on Canadian problems (issued by the Young

Men's Committee, National Council, Y.M.C.A., Toronto, Ryerson Press, Live and Learn pamphlets, 1942, x, 69 pp., 75c.). This guide and handbook, for which President Sidney Smith of the University of Manitoba has written an introduction, provides a basis for the discussion of a number of the most important contemporary Canadian problems. Social Services, Civil Liberties, Economic Problems, Post-War Problems are among the topics. Stimulating questions are posed and short bibliographies provided. Senior high-school students could make excellent use of this book.

A Reading Guide for Social Studies Teachers, edited by Edgar B. Wesley of the University of Minnesota, has recently been published by the National Council for the Social Studies, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., price fifty cents. It lists in particular the significant books published in the last ten years, and gives short but well-written descriptions of them. While a good many of the titles are of interest especially to teachers in the United States, a great many in the sections on Geography, American History, and World History, will be useful also to Canadian teachers.

Pamphlets on current events. Among the numerous pamphlets published since our last issue, the following may be noted as of special interest to readers of these notes. *Population: Canada's Problem* by Steven Cartwright and *French-Canadian Opinion on the War* by Elizabeth H. Armstrong are numbers 11 and 12 of the "Contemporary Affairs" series published by the Ryerson Press under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs (30c. and 40c. respectively). *French Canada at War* by Jean-Charles Harvey (Toronto, 1941, 26 pp., 10c.) has been added to the Macmillan war pamphlets, Canadian series. The following have been added to the "Food for Thought" series published by the Canadian Association for Adult Education (Toronto, 1941-2, 10c. each): *Collective Bargaining in Canada* by Bora Laskin, *India, the War, and Canada* by H. S. L. Polak, *Canada's Role in World Affairs* by F. R. Scott, and *Scandinavia and the War: Canada's Stake in Northern Europe* by Paul Malles. Two pamphlets dealing with price control have been issued by the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, Ottawa, and may be obtained without charge: *Price Control in Canada* by Kenneth R. Wilson, and *Fighting Inflation* by Frederick Griffin. The Canadian Association for Adult Education and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs have issued in their "Behind the Headlines" series three pamphlets by Professor R. O. MacFarlane on *Canada and the Post-War World* (Toronto, 1942, 10c. each): *Canada Tomorrow*, *Blueprints for a New World*, and *Beginning at the End*. These pamphlets, which contain reading suggestions, are intended to provide material for study groups. The following among other titles have been added to the series "America in a World at War" (New York, Farrar and Rinehart [Toronto, Oxford University Press], 1941-2, 10c. each): *1917 and 1941* by Frederick B. Artz (an explanation of the contrasts in opinion in the United States); *Hiller's Conquest of America* by William S. Schlamm; *Hitler's Speeches and the United States* by Gordon W. Prange; *America Faces Japan* by William C. Johnstone; *Building our Fences in Latin America* by J. Anton de Haas; *German Geopolitics* by H. W. Weigert; *Our Allies: The Netherlands East Indies* by J. Anton de Haas. *The Universities are Dangerous* by W. E. C. Harrison (Toronto, Oxford University Press, iv, 55 pp., 25c.) is an explanation of the relation of universities to the present world struggle. Lying outside the Canadian field but of interest to Canadian readers are *India Today: The Background of the Indian Nationalist Movement* compiled by W. E. Duffett, A. R. Hicks, and G. R. Parkin (Toronto, Ryerson, 1941, viii, 110 pp., 60c.) in the "Contemporary Affairs" series, and *Japan's Purpose in Asia* (Nov., 1941, 61 pp., 1s.) by Sir Frederick Whyte, published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

